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*Transactions - Glasgow  
University Oriental Society*

Glasgow University Oriental Society











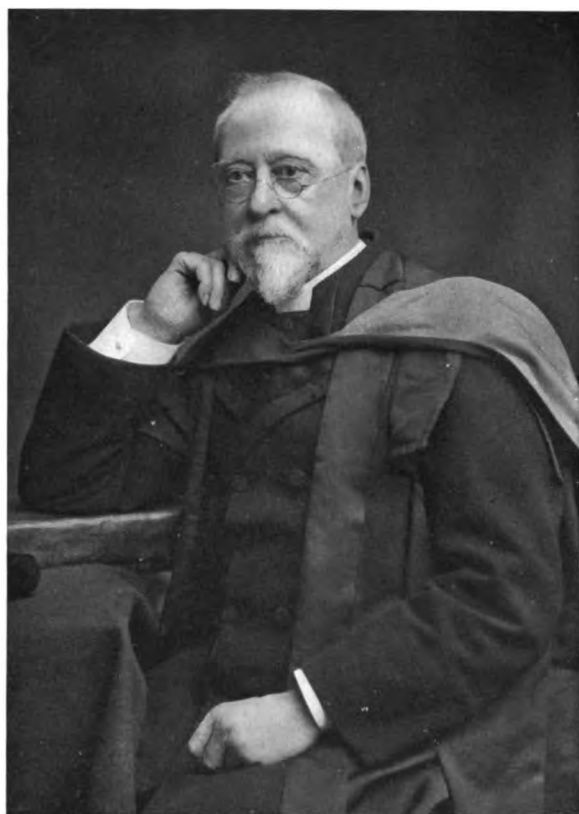


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**GLASGOW UNIVERSITY ORIENTAL SOCIETY**







*Yours very sincerely  
Jas Robinson*



*Glasgow University Oriental Society*

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# Transactions from 1901-07

with

## Historical Sketch

By

George Anderson, B.D.

Recording Secretary



Glasgow

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# CONTENTS.

	PAGE
HISTORICAL SKETCH OF GLASGOW UNIVERSITY ORIENTAL SOCIETY, Rev. George Anderson, B.D., Renfrew.	1
OLD TESTAMENT ESCHATOLOGY, . . . . . Rev. A. C. Watson, B.D., St. Boswells.	13
BABYLONIAN INSCRIPTIONS REFERRING TO BELSHAZZAR, . . . . Theophilus Pinches, LL.D., London.	14
A NEW THEORY OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TABERNACLE, . . Rev. Professor A. R. S. Kennedy, D.D., Edinburgh.	16
PALESTINE AND REVELATION, . . . . . Rev. Wm. Ewing, M.A., Edinburgh.	18
ANOTHER THEORY OF THE TABERNACLE, . . . . . R. B. Pattie, B.D., Glasgow.	20
UNIVERSITY NOTES, . . . . . Rev. Prof. Robertson, D.D., LL.D., Glasgow.	21
NOTES ON RECENT LITERATURE, . . . . . Rev. Prof. Robertson, D.D., LL.D., Glasgow.	23
SONS OF THE PROPHETS, . . . . . Rev. Hugh Duncan, B.D., Garturk.	24
NOTES ON ALGERIA, . . . . . Rev. T. H. Weir, B.D., Glasgow.	26
NOTES ON EXCEPTIONAL POINTING, . . . . . R. B. Pattie, B.D., Glasgow.	27
PSALM CXIX., . . . . . Rev. J. E. H. Thomson, D.D., Edinburgh.	27
HEBREW POETRY, . . . . . Rev. Hugh Y. Arnott, B.D., Newburgh.	29
DIVINATION IN ANCIENT EGYPT, . . . . . Rev. P. H. Aitken, B.D., B.Sc., D.Litt., Glasgow.	30

	PAGE
MODERN PHASES OF MOHAMMEDANISM IN INDIA, . . . .	31
Rev. R. M'C. Paterson, B.D., Gujrat.	
NOTES ON EDUCATION IN ALGERIA AND EGYPT, . . . .	32
Rev. Prof. Robertson, D.D., LL.D., Glasgow.	
THE CODE OF HAMMURABI, . . . . .	35
Rev. James Millar, B.D., New Cumnock.	
NOTES ON BUDDHISM IN JAPAN, . . . . .	36
Robert Morris, M.A., Calcutta.	
A THREE TERM ACADEMIC SESSION, . . . . .	36
Rev. Prof. Robertson, D.D., LL.D., Glasgow.	
NOTES ON RECENT LITERATURE, . . . . .	37
Rev. Prof. Robertson, D.D., LL.D., Glasgow.	
EUPHONY IN HEBREW, . . . . .	38
Rev. William Rollo, M.A., Glasgow.	
THE ARABIC DIALECT OF ALEPPO, . . . . .	39
Rev. W. M. Christie, B.D., Aleppo.	
THE OLD TESTAMENT OUTLOOK ON THE WORLD AND LIFE, . . . .	40
Rev. D. R. Alexander, B.D., Urr.	
EAST AND WEST, . . . . .	42
Rev. W. W. Fulton, B.D., Glasgow.	
IMPRESSIONS OF THE FOURTEENTH INTERNATIONAL ORIENTAL CON- GRESS, . . . . .	44
Rev. Prof. Robertson, D.D., LL.D., Glasgow.	
THE LANGUAGE OF CHRIST, . . . . .	46
Rev. James Young, B.D., Paisley.	
THE ARK OF THE COVENANT, . . . . .	48
Rev. Daniel Kirkwood, B.D., Houston.	
INTERCESSORY PRAYER IN THE OLD TESTAMENT, . . . . .	49
Rev. J. C. Smith, B.D., Coatdyke.	
RENDERING OF OLD TESTAMENT NAMES OF GOD INTO HINDI AND COGNATE LANGUAGES, . . . . .	50
Rev. R. Kilgour, B.D., Darjeeling.	
WAS THE ARAMAIC OF DANIEL ORIGINALLY WESTERN? . . . .	52
Rev. J. E. H. Thomson, D.D.	
JESUS AND THE PROPHETS, . . . . .	54
Rev. Andrew Baird, B.D., Broughton.	
NOTES ON RECENT LITERATURE, . . . . .	56
Rev. Prof. Robertson, D.D., LL.D.	

## APPENDICES.

I. THE "MEGILLAH" OR FLYING ROLL—	
LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS, . . . . .	PAGE 60
INDEX TO ARTICLES, . . . . .	60
II. LIST OF MEMBERS OF GLASGOW UNIVERSITY ORIENTAL SOCIETY, . . . . .	64
III. CONSTITUTION OF THE SOCIETY, . . . . .	66
IV. BYE-LAWS OF THE SOCIETY, . . . . .	66
V. OFFICE-BEARERS OF THE SOCIETY, . . . . .	67



# GLASGOW UNIVERSITY ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

## HISTORICAL SKETCH.

BY REV. GEORGE ANDERSON, B.D.

By a resolution of the Society of date 25th October, 1905, it was unanimously agreed that the movement begun five years previously to make some permanent record of the *Transactions* of the Society should be continued and amplified. On that occasion only a list of the subjects of the Papers read before the Society since its formation was given, and as the Papers continued in the hands of the authors it was felt that the results of considerable study and research, frequently of an entirely original character, were practically lost to the great majority of the members. To obviate this loss, and possibly to make the work of the Society beneficial to a wider circle than the membership, it was resolved to issue at intervals a résumé of the Society's *Proceedings*, containing brief summaries of the Papers read and discussed. The present publication is made in accordance with this resolution. In nearly every case the summary has been prepared by the author of the Paper himself, and where that was found impossible the fact has been stated.

Little introduction is required to these papers. Being confessedly only summaries they are not cast in literary form, yet they have been prepared with sufficient care to ensure that the main points of the subjects dealt with should be clearly presented. They deal with as wide a variety of



topics as can be comprehended within the sphere of Semitic study, which is a sphere of ever enlarging scope. The subjects dealt with in the Papers of which summaries are here given, as well as in all the earlier *Proceedings* of the Society, are chiefly linguistic, for the advancement of study in this special department has always been the Society's first aim. In this connection Papers have been read bearing on Hebrew, Chaldee, Assyrian, Syriac, Arabic, Persian, Hindustani and the other languages of India. Papers have also been read dealing with Oriental customs and beliefs, most of which have been prepared from personal observation, and have tended to elucidate the literature of the different peoples. The subjects of Archaeology and Topography have also been considered, and Papers showing the bearing of these on Old Testament study have formed a large part of the contributions of members. The results of recent scholarship emanating from the various schools have been discussed, while a special feature of the proceedings has always been the Bibliographical Notes contributed by the President. Summaries of these Notes are here given, and while they are necessarily brief, they yet give in condensed form information regarding recent books which has been found most useful by the members.

The chief purpose, however, of this introductory article is to give in brief outline a history of the Society since the former publication in 1900. The Society continues to meet in April and October of each year, the members dining together in the Union after each meeting. Its operations are probably not such as afford materials for striking characterisation, but they have been carried on with unbroken regularity and, it is safe to say, with marked advantage to those who have in any way shared in them. Several of the members are recognised authorities in the field of Oriental study, while all are interested in its prosecution. The membership has been steadily increasing, and it has been a matter of particular gratification that during recent years quite a large number of students who had distinguished themselves in this department of study in the University have been added to the Roll.

The growth of the Society naturally recalls the day of small things at the beginning. It was instituted on 24th April, 1880, at a small gathering specially held in the house of the President, Professor Robertson. At its inception there were only four gentlemen present, of whom three are still active members. These are Professor Robertson, Dr. Kean, now resident in St. Petersburg as the Bible Society's Agent for the whole of Russia, and Mr. R. B. Pattie, of Glasgow. The fourth, Mr. James Arthur, died shortly afterwards at the close of a specially distinguished career in the University, on his return from Halle in Germany, where he had gone to recruit his health.

Since its institution there have been altogether 109 members admitted. Of these 4 have died and 28 have either resigned or found it impossible to continue taking an active part in the work. There are at present in full membership, 77; of whom 16 are corresponding members widely scattered in India, Russia, Syria, Australia and America. This large element of corresponding members is particularly satisfactory, for most of these members are resident in the East, and so are in direct touch with sources of information from which valuable material is drawn for the fruitful discussion of many of the questions that engage the attention of the Society. There is thus more than academic interest introduced into the discussions, there is the living interest evoked by practical acquaintance with the East as it exists to-day.

Of those members who have recently died, one, the Rev. Daniel M'Lean, had never been able to attend a meeting of the Society as his death occurred shortly after his election, the other, Mr. Gavin Greenlees, a business gentleman in Glasgow, was the oldest member in point of years, and was among the oldest in membership. He took not only an active part in the work of the Society, contributing Papers of interest and value to its *Proceedings* in connection with the decipherment of Cuneiform inscriptions, but he also won a high place in the regard of the members for his sterling character and his long sustained enthusiasm for Oriental study.

The death of Mr. Greenlees, who was for a time Convener of the section dealing with Assyriology, reminds us of the

development of method which took place several years ago, when sections were made comprising the following subjects:

Arabic.  
Old Testament and West Aramaic.  
Indian Languages.  
Syriac and Ethiopic.  
Assyriology.  
Persian.  
Comparative Religions.  
Comparative Philology.

Each of these sections was put in charge of a Convener specially interested in that department, whose duty it was to bring before the Society anything of importance belonging to that department, and also to enlist the interest and help of others. While, from a variety of causes, it has been found impossible to carry out this arrangement fully, it is a method for securing systematic and concentrated study which is invaluable, and it may well be revived whenever the conditions are favourable.

Apart from the discussion of the Papers which are now submitted in this abridged form, the Society has specially interested itself in the subject of providing increased facilities for Oriental study in Glasgow University. The growing importance of such languages as Syriac and Arabic not merely for theological students, but for those who contemplate taking part in the wider civil service of the Empire in its Eastern domains, has made it essential, if Scottish students are to have a reasonable opportunity of entering this service, that greater provision should be made for their being taught. In view of this the following Memorial as to a Lectureship in Arabic, presented in 1902 to the Senate and Court of the University by the President, was heartily supported by the Oriental Society.

## UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

## PROPOSED LECTURESHIP IN ARABIC.

1. For 50 years at least Arabic and Syriac have been continuously taught in the University of Glasgow by the Professors of Hebrew. The students have been almost exclusively students of Divinity, the Chair having been, till recently, in that Faculty alone, and the two languages were taught in alternate years. During the last quarter of a century there has been only one year in which there was no class. Many of the best students have taken both languages: and some who began their studies of Semitic languages in the University are now recognised as among the foremost scholars in this department.

2. By the provisions of the Ordinances of the Universities' Commission (1889), which placed the Chair in the Arts as well as in the Divinity Faculty, Hebrew and Syriac or Arabic are made available subjects for the ordinary degree of M.A. It has been necessary, and, with the aid of an assistant, it has been found possible to arrange the Hebrew classes so as to meet the requirements of the succession of students who have taken that subject for graduation in Arts; and a special arrangement was made a few sessions ago when Arabic was selected for the same purpose. But the time has come to make such special provision for the teaching of one at least of these two languages, Syriac or Arabic, as will offer to the student a distinct avenue to graduation, as well as maintain a high academic standard of teaching. It is to be remembered that the Commissioners have not only placed these languages among the subjects for ordinary graduation, but have specified "Semitic Languages" as a group for graduation with Honours. Yet whereas it is possible for a student to graduate with Honours in Classics, or in Modern Languages, such a distinction in Semitic Languages is impossible so long as there are not two "separate Professors or Lecturers" to hold Honours Classes.

3. The present proposal is for the immediate establishment of a Lectureship in Arabic, in support of which the following reasons are urged:

- (a) The fact above mentioned, that the subject is already, and has been long, taught in the University. The persistence of the study for half a century, without any encouragement in the shape of Bursary or Scholarship, is the highest of all testimonies to its value in the eyes of the best students.
- (b) The fact that it is and must always be a University subject, a branch of the higher learning of which the University is the proper home and nursery.
- (c) The fact that it is at once a classical and a modern language. Its ancient literature is boundless, its grammar affords a life-long study to specialists; an acquaintance with its laws is indispensable

to the student of Comparative Semitic. The modern *literary* language, which is not to be confounded with vulgar and corrupt dialects, corresponds in all essential points and in every grammatical detail with the classical language. During the past century there has been a marvellous revival of Arabic; and a young generation of the natives of Syria and Egypt, imbued with European learning, while jealous of the purity of their own tongue, are sending forth an abundant literature of the most varied kind, which is disseminated and intelligible in all parts of the Arabic-speaking world.

4. If University Extension includes the strengthening of studies that are already prosecuted, the shelter of studies which otherwise would be homeless and helpless, as well as the adaptation of appliances to new conditions, Arabic has a pre-eminent claim to recognition. It is the language, spoken and written, of Egypt to the most distant Soudan, of the whole north coast of Africa, as well as of other regions in that Continent, and of the whole of Syria from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates, to say nothing of the millions of Mohammedans in India who use it as a literary tongue. It is spreading with a rapidity equalled only perhaps by our own language. In the Indian Civil Service Examinations the same number of marks are assigned to it as to French and to German. Egypt and other parts of Africa offer wide fields for young men in various branches of Government service and in other walks of life, for which a knowledge of Arabic is an indispensable qualification.

5. It is not to be expected that the study of Arabic will attract crowds of students, although, in a large city like Glasgow, there may be not a few outside the number of regular University students who would take advantage of practical instruction if there were regular facilities. In any case, there ought to be some endowed provision for a Lectureship and also for travelling Scholarships. Nor is it unreasonable to hope for such endowments, if the subject had once a sure footing and recognised place in the University. It is in the hope that the Senate and Court will give this official recognition that the present proposal is submitted by

JAS. ROBERTSON,

*Professor of Hebrew and Semitic Languages.*

23rd April, 1902.

As a result of this representation a Lectureship in Arabic was formed in the University, and one of our own members, Mr. Weir, was appointed Lecturer. It is now possible for a student to take an Honours course in Semitic Languages, and although the position of the Lectureship as regards financial support and probable continuity are not quite

satisfactory, it is gratifying that this distinct step in progress has been made. In order to show the Society's interest in this movement and the desire to promote the study of these languages, an annual prize, value three guineas in books, for a period of five years, has been instituted by the Society in connection with the classes conducted by the Lecturer, to be awarded to the best student or students in Arabic.

An important part of the Society's work has been the circulation of the Megillah, or Flying Roll, for several years. Twenty-four parts have now been issued, and each part contains a variety of articles, all of them of interest and many of them of special value. Subjects have been dealt with in these articles that occupy a prominent place in present day discussions, and many of them have been written by those who have been specially qualified by their expert knowledge. Attention is drawn to the Index of Papers contributed to the Megillah which forms part of this publication, and it may be stated that the intention is to hand the whole series to the University Library, so that the Papers may be available to those who desire to consult them.

An event of deep interest to the Society as a whole, and of special interest to the individual members, occurred when the esteemed President, Dr. Robertson, attained in 1902 his semi-jubilee in the Professoriate. The occasion was gladly taken advantage of, not only by the Society, but by Professor Robertson's students everywhere, of testifying to the affectionate regard in which he is held. A large company met in the Grand Hotel, Glasgow, on 16th April, presided over by Professor Kennedy of Edinburgh, to do him honour and to ask his acceptance of gifts expressive of this esteem. It is not out of place that we should here acknowledge how much the Society owes to Professor Robertson. It was he who first suggested its formation, his enthusiasm has been a chief factor in its success, it has been by his inspiring influence that most of its members have had their interest awakened and deepened in Oriental studies, and no one has been a more welcome or more frequent contributor to its *Proceedings* than he. It is with particular pleasure the Society recalls

the many valuable additions he has made to the increasing literature of our country bearing specially on subjects of Old Testament research, as also in the wider field of Semitic study generally. His original work in this direction the Society is glad has been recognised by the University of St. Andrews, where he had formerly been a divinity student, conferring on him the honorary degree of LL.D.

With the unfeigned pleasure the Society takes in the work and honour of its President, there is now mingled a feeling of sincere regret that he contemplates the resignation of his Professorship in the University which he has so worthily held for the past thirty years. This is neither the time nor the place to estimate the value of his work as occupant of the Chair of Hebrew and Oriental Languages in Glasgow University, for, large though our Society is, and composed chiefly of his own students, there are very many not within its membership occupying distinguished places in the Church and in academic and commercial circles in various parts of the world who had the unspeakable benefit of his instruction and training. At the same time our Society occupies a certain representative position, and so gladly acknowledges how much the comparatively advanced state of Oriental study in Scotland is due to his influence and labours. Throughout the whole term of his occupancy of the Chair he has been unwearied in his own studies, has evoked a love for Oriental research even in many unpromising places, and has himself, as has been said, contributed largely to the most recent and most valuable literature bearing on Semitic questions. Neither an indiscriminate *laudator temporis acti*, nor unduly hurried on in the rush of the more advanced criticism, he has always held the balance level between the claims of the two broadly recognised schools of modern discussion. His ripe and well informed scholarship, universally recognised, has placed him in the very forefront of those who are capable of forming a judgment regarding the interesting and keenly contested questions arising out of the wide subject of Old Testament criticism, and his judgments have invariably commanded the respect of all because of the fairness of their statement, the trans-



parent honesty of their conviction, and the unquestioned wealth of knowledge and information on which they are based. He has shed a lustre on the Chair he has so long honourably filled that will not soon be dimmed, and the hope which we as a Society can confidently entertain that the cessation of his work as a Professor will only give him more and much needed leisure for work of a more permanent kind, reconciles us in some measure to a change which will for so many of us affect all our associations with *Alma Mater*.

The Glasgow University Oriental Society has now completed the twenty-seventh year of its existence, and it may justly claim to have served an important purpose. Its chief aim has always been the prosecution of the study of the languages and literatures of the East, by giving opportunity for this among its members, and in supporting that work as far as possible in connection with the University. During the course of its history a striking change has come over the attitude of many in the theological, academic and political spheres, towards these subjects. Old Testament criticism has developed during that time with almost unparalleled rapidity, and linguistic and archaeological researches have been so extended as to make Oriental study at the present day a richer and more familiar thing than had ever previously been known. Indeed the advance in Old Testament criticism practically coincides with the period of the Society's existence, and it is a matter for legitimate congratulation that several of its members have contributed to this advance. The great importance of the subject, dealing with a literature that is indissolubly associated with all our deepest religious beliefs and experiences, makes us welcome every contribution that will help to put in a clearer light, and so make more thoroughly understood, writings which have a deathless interest for the world. It is practically impossible to put a limit to the subjects whose elucidation help forward this special study. On the side of language more than Hebrew requires to be studied, for many other cognate languages contribute to the interpretation of the Old Testament. Then there are the great

stores of information only beginning to be opened up by the researches of the archaeologist in the countries adjacent to the Levant, calling for the decipherment of long buried inscriptions, and the reconstruction of the long lost histories of almost forgotten peoples. Unwritten histories are being revealed, and through the prosecution of this branch of Oriental study the civilisations of the past are being made to contribute their story to the world of the present day.

This widening of Oriental study has also a very direct bearing on the steadily advancing science of Comparative Theology. It is the development of Semitic research that has made comparisons among the ancient religions possible, and it may be safely said that this department of theological science can only be made to yield valuable results to the extent that progress is made in all branches of Oriental study. The call for such progress is therefore a pressing one, and it appeals most strongly to University circles. It can never be made what in the widespread utilitarian spirit of the present day would be called a paying subject. It will always be cultivated only by the few, but in view of the vastly important issues it may be made to yield it should find ready and generous support in Universities, where, if anywhere, such studies as have higher aims than merely material advancement should be fostered and maintained.

But Oriental studies in the present day are not without their keenly practical side. The empire spirit is strong, and the responsibilities of empire are great. The countries and the peoples of the Orient have a large place within the Pax Britannica, and the bonds of empire can only be made beneficent as well as enduring as the various peoples know each other, and understand each other, and specially as the ruling race enters into sympathetic relationships with them all. To know the language of any people is to have a passport not only to their commerce, but to their friendship, and thus there is a very practical and pressing need that an increasing number of students, apart from those whose studies are directed towards a professional end, should equip themselves by the acquirement of their languages for the service of the

empire among the peoples in eastern lands. The vista is a wide one which the study of Oriental languages opens up alike in the theological, the academic and political spheres, and not the least source of gratification to the members of this Society is the fact that it has done something to promote this study.

RENFREW, *June*, 1907.

## TRANSACTIONS FROM 1901-07.

23rd October, 1901.

The Society met on this date, when 22 ordinary members and two visitors were present. It was reported that the meeting to celebrate the attainment by the Society of its majority was held on 24th June, 1901, when there were present 28 members and 21 ladies, 49 in all. Those attending the meeting inscribed their names in the Society's Album. There was a reception by the President, Professor Robertson, and Mrs. Robertson at 7, The University, in the forenoon, after which the company visited the Library, Museum and other parts of the University buildings. A photograph was taken of the company assembled in front of the main door of the University. Dinner was provided in the Union in the afternoon, at the close of which the President addressed the members and friends present, while Professor Kennedy of Edinburgh, and the Vice-President, Mr. Pattie, acknowledged the Society's indebtedness to Professor and Mrs. Robertson for their kindness. The Society recorded with satisfaction the interest and success of this gathering.

At this meeting it was further reported that the *History of the Society*, prepared by the Recording Secretary, had been printed and circulated.

The following papers, of which abstracts are here given, were then read: (1) By Rev. A. C. Watson, B.D., on "Old Testament Eschatology." (2) By Dr. Pinches, on "Babylonian Inscriptions referring to Belshazzar." (3) By Professor Kennedy, on "A New Theory of the Construction of the Tabernacle."

# SUMMARY OF PAPER ON ESCHATOLOGY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

By REV. A. C. WATSON, B.D.

*Definition of Eschatology—Doctrine of Last Things.* Subject limited at present to Eschatology of the people—what the Old Testament writers teach regarding the final conditions of the nation and of the race in the *historic, poetic and prophetic* books.

## I. *The Horizon of the Historic Books.*

In the Pentateuch the establishment of the seed of Abraham in Canaan for blessing to all families of the earth.

In the Oracle of David (2 Sam. xxiii.), an everlasting Covenant made with the House of David and administered by an Anointed Ruler of David's line.

## II. *The Outlook of the Nation in its Poetic Literature—in the Psalms.*

At first the faith and hope expressed (e.g. in Psalms lxxii. and l.) are founded upon idealised visions of the reigning dynasty.

As the nation became involved in political troubles the outlook of hope is projected more and more into the future—yet still an immediate future.

In post-exilic psalms the contradiction between the existing State and its Idea makes the horizon still more distant.

## III. *The Ideals of Prophetic Literature* (8th-4th cent. B.C.).

Two well defined lines of thought run through all the prophetic books.

(1) The development of Messianic Ideal through the ages. (2) The hopes and fears centering in the 'Day of the Lord.'

1. Messianic hopes set forth in Isaiah, Micah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

Two great truths of the future :

(a) The national expectation of a Deliverer and Ruler of David's line becomes more clearly defined.

(b) The expectation is that the divided kingdom will be united and the seat of government will be Jerusalem.

2. Concurrent with the Messianic hope is the expectation of the Day of the Lord—Isaiah, Micah, Amos, Joel, Obadiah, Zephaniah, Ezekiel—a day of awful visitation, embodied in hostile invasion.

3. To the Prophets of the Exile the Day of Jehovah has come, and a brighter Messianic day is dawning. Ezekiel—the Shepherd King of the Gathered Flock. Deutero-Isaiah—the Servant of Jehovah.

4. Fulllest development of existing eschatological hopes and ideals in post-exilic prophecies of Zechariah and Malachi. The two conceptions of Day of Jehovah and Messiah King blended together once more. The 'Day' will bring a final contest, Jerusalem against the nations, and a final victory, after which Jerusalem will be the metropolis in which the Lord of Hosts Himself shall rule, and all nations shall go up and worship the King who dwells in the Holy City. In Malachi the 'Day' shall burn as an oven. All the wicked shall be destroyed. Those who fear the Lord shall be His in the day when He makes up His jewels.
5. Yet another series of visions recorded in Daniel completes the Old Testament prophetic forecast of the future. It ends with a picture of the resurrection of the dead, followed by the Final Judgment and definitely foreshadows the clearer apocalyptic visions of the New Testament.

*Summary of foregoing.* Old Testament Eschatology culminates in prophetic literature. In the progressive revelation of successive prophecies we have :

1. The gradual fading away of those hopes of the people which centered in a political salvation, and the picture of an ideal future in which there should be a united nation governed in righteousness by a ruler of David's line, anointed by God.
2. The ideal kingdom is to be brought about by Jehovah Himself, for the glory of His own name, by means of discipline and judgment, the Day of the Lord which will purify the remnant of the chosen people, and at the same time devour their enemies.
3. After the ideal or Messianic King and His people shall have passed through a time of suffering, even to the death, there will be for Him a glorious victory and for them a spiritual resurrection. King and people will be established in the Holy City governing and giving laws to all nations of the earth.
4. The end of all will be the resurrection of the dead and judgment following. The Saviour King of His people will be judge of all, and they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever.

## BABYLONIAN TABLETS MENTIONING BELSHAZZAR.

BY THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES, LL.D.

THIS paper treated of several Babylonian inscriptions referring to Belshazzar in a more or less private capacity. The documents given were ten in number, all, with one exception, preserved in the British Museum. The following is an outline of their contents :

1. Marduk-triba sells to Belshazzar, by the agency of Bêl-rêšûa, his servant, a piece of land. Dated at Babylon, 26th day of the 2nd Adar, 1st year of Nabonidus.

2. Nabû-âhê-iddina lets a house for three years to Nabû-kîn-âhi, 'secretary of Belshazzar, the son of the king.' This is practically a repairing lease, and in return for living rent-free, the hirer lends the owner  $1\frac{1}{2}$  manas of silver free of interest. Dated at Babylon, 21st day of Nisan, 5th year of Nabonidus.

3. A record of the receipt by Nabû-šabit-qâtê, Belshazzar's *major domo*, of  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mana of silver due from Nabû-kîn-âhi, the same prince's secretary. As Nabû-kîn-âhi was absent, Nabû-âhê-iddina pays the sum on his behalf in the presence of the former's wife, Didîtu. The amount had been borrowed to pay for the slave Nabû-ikribi-šimê. Dated at Babylon, 9th day of Sebat, 7th year of Nabonidus.

4. Apparently concerning some slaves sold by Belshazzar's captain, Itti-Nabû-gûzu, to Rêmut, but not paid for. As the captain wants the money, he details to Nabû-šar-âhê-šu, a relative of Rêmut, the state of the case, and the latter swears to obtain for him either the slaves or the silver within twenty days. Dated at the city of the house of the king of Babylon, 14th day of Tammuz, in the 10th year of Nabonidus. Said to have been found at Borsippa. Included by the kind permission of Lord Amherst of Hackney.

5. Record of a debt of 20 manas of silver, owing to Belshazzar by Iddina-Marduk, for woven stuff or clothing supplied through Nabû-šabit-qâtê, the prince's *major domo*. Dated at Babylon, 20th day of . . . , 11th year of Nabonidus.

6. Itti-Marduk-balâpu pays 1 mana 16 shekels of silver to Nabû-šabit-qâtê, Belshazzar's *major domo*, on behalf of Bêl-iddina, who thus transfers his indebtedness to the first-named. Dated at Babylon, 27th day of the 2nd Adar, 12th year of Nabonidus.

Other tablets recorded offerings made on behalf of Belshazzar at Sippar (Abu-habbah). These consisted of numerous sheep, some oxen and a 'tongue' of gold weighing a mana. The dates are the 7th, 9th, and 12th years of Nabonidus. One of the inscriptions mentions two headdresses called *karballata*, the Talm. *karballâ*. (Cf. Dan. iii. 21.)

Naturally trade and legal transactions in which Babylonian princes have taken part are rare, but the appearance of Belshazzar as a contracting party has its parallel in the case of Neriglissar. The above inscriptions show that, like Laborosoarchod when crown prince, Belshazzar had a separate establishment, and imply that he had already reached man's estate in the first year of his father's reign. Earlier tablets than the above furnish names of Belshazzar's neighbours, and a dispute about a right of way seems to suggest the reason why Marduk-triba (No. 1) disposed of his property.

# A NEW THEORY OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TABERNACLE OF THE PRIESTS' CODE.

READ BY THE REV. PROFESSOR A. R. S. KENNEDY, D.D.

THIS paper was offered to the Society as an attempt to solve some of the difficulties attaching to the traditional interpretation of Exodus xxvi. 15 ff., as regards, in particular, the wooden framework of the Tabernacle. Such difficulties are (1) the so-called 'boards' (קִרְיִים) of the Tabernacle. In the descriptions of the Tabernacle hitherto current these are represented as enormous beams or columns of acacia wood, 48 in number, each 10 cubits in height by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in width (say 15 ft. by  $2\frac{1}{2}$ ), with a thickness, obtained by calculation, of one cubit (18 in.). This gives a content of *circa* 50 cubic feet for each of the 'boards' forming three sides of the Tabernacle, representing a weight of nearly one ton (see Brown, *The Tabernacle*, 6th ed., 1899, p. 275). The difficulties raised by this view of the nature of the *keršštm* are *inter alia*: (a) Apart from the preliminary difficulty of finding acacia trees in the wilderness of a size capable of producing beams of such dimensions, so massive a framework is inconsistent with the fundamental conception of the Tabernacle as a light and easily portable sanctuary. (b) It is out of all proportion to the weight of the curtains, etc., it had to support. (c) Such a weight of materials, even if each board weighed only half a ton, cannot be reconciled with the provision made for their transport (see Numbers vii. 8, compared with iii. 36 f., iv. 31 f.).

(2) The ordinary view of the Tabernacle as consisting of these 'wooden walls' gives a false idea of the relative importance of the various parts of the Tabernacle. In P.'s conception the essential part is the Dwelling (מִשְׁכָּן), as described Exodus xxvi. 1 ff. Even the Tent (vv. 7 ff.) is subsidiary, while the 'boards' have a place merely as the supports of the tapestry and goats' hair curtains of the Dwelling and Tent respectively. If this be so, it is inconceivable that the curtains composing the Dwelling with their cherubim figures should be intended to be entirely hidden from view except on the roof, as would be the case with the curtains spread over the wooden boards.

(3) The traditional interpretation of Exodus xxvi. 17 (the 'tenons' of the 'boards,' etc.) rests on a very uncertain foundation.

The proposed solution starts from an examination of the technical terms in the verse just cited, and seeks to show:

(1) That the term מֵטֵמ is used in several passages of the Old Testament in the sense of 'arm,' 'stay,' 'upright,' and the like. (Stade's studies of 1 Kings vii. 32 f. are specially helpful here, see ZATW iii. (1883), 129 ff. xxi. (1901) 145 ff.).



(2) That the unique Pual participle מְשַׁלְבֵּת must be interpreted in the light of the cognate terms שְׁלִיבָה, the rung of a ladder, שְׁלָלִים (1 Kings vii. 28, 29), cross-rails joining the uprights of the base of the laver (see Stade), i.e. as signifying 'furnished with,' or 'joined [one to the other] by, cross-rails.'

(3) The still more obscure שִׁבְרֵי, which Jerome first rendered '*tabulae*' (the thin boards of which the soldiers' *tabernacula* were composed) is now seen to be composed of 'two uprights joined one to the other by cross-pieces'; in other words it appears to signify a *wooden frame* or panel, a sense which exactly suits the only other occurrence of the word, Ezekiel xxvii. 6, 'thy panels are of ivory inlaid with boxwood.'

The result is, briefly, that for the impossible wooden walls of the Tabernacle, there has been substituted a framework of 48 light wooden frames, yet sufficiently strong to support the curtains of the Dwelling and the Tent, and at the same time sufficiently open to allow the all-important cherubim figures of the former to be fully visible. By this means, also, the Tabernacle at last becomes possible of easy transport, and some at least of the difficulties above enumerated have been removed.

[Reference may be made for fuller details and for illustrations of the frames to the article 'Tabernacle' in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. iv., of part of which the above paper was a rough draft.]

16th April, 1902.

At this meeting there were present 27 ordinary members and one corresponding member. The following minute was unanimously adopted: "As the close of the present College Session marks the completion by Dr. Robertson, the President of the Society, of his twenty-five years occupancy of the chair of Hebrew and Semitic Languages in the University, the Society desires to offer to Dr. Robertson their warmest congratulations on the occasion, and to express their sincere hope that he may long continue to hold this position with the same great profit to his students and eminent distinction to himself. The members are glad to have an opportunity, along with many other past and present students and friends, of joining in a special recognition of Professor Robertson's Semi-Jubilee at the close of this meeting."

The following papers, of which abstracts are given, were then read: (1) By Rev. W. Ewing, M.A., on "Palestine and Revelation," and (2) "Another Theory of the Tabernacle," by Mr Pattie.

## PALESTINE AND REVELATION.

By REV. W. EWING, M.A.

REVELATION here means that knowledge of Himself which God has communicated to men, the record of which is preserved in the Scriptures.

Choice of Abraham's seed as the medium of that revelation involved choice of a land to be the theatre of the history, in the course of which prophetic men perceived the designed instruction, and, in the form suited to land and age, taught lessons of infinite value to all lands and ages.

The Bible is a collection of Oriental writings, coloured by the conditions in which they were born. The conservatism of the East enables us to verify their fidelity to the general features of Palestinian life.

The patriarchal flockmaster, the swarms of predatory Arabs, the fisherman and husbandman with their ancient gear; social observances and forms of speech all attest the faithfulness of the sacred writers.

The revelation in large measure owes its form to the position and characteristics of the land. These we must know in order to distinguish fairly local and temporary elements from the abiding and universal.

Israel has no good harbour on her coast. In consequence she never knew the sea. So it became to her the home of mystery and fear, as it never could to a sea-faring people. The features of the sea of 'polished glass' are certainly taken from the sea of Galilee.

The eastern tribes, severed from their brethren by the gorge of Jordan, are soon lost sight of; the coast plain was almost continuously held by Israel's foes. We look, therefore, to the mountain range of Western Palestine.

From the great caves in the limestone cliffs, affording shelter in times of peril, and the strongholds on many a height, 'The Lord is my Rock,' and 'The Lord is my Fortress,' gained special significance. The rough hill country was unsuitable for cavalry and chariots: these therefore are the confidence of Israel's foes: her trust is in the Lord of Hosts.

The flowers withered in a single day by the hot east wind, and the dew clouds, vanishing swiftly in the morning sun, are apt figures of the transient glory of human life. The winnowing of the grain furnished a symbol of the unerring judgment of God. How much of our religious phraseology is drawn from that land and history.

The land was small: the area here considered=about half the county of Yorkshire. The whole territory was within easy view. Historic

forces could be minutely studied, and lessons drawn in the light of full knowledge.

Palestine lay near the centre of the ancient world. Over it passed the main routes for war, merchandise, etc. Israel, from her mountain home, could view this passing traffic, and so feel the pulses of the world's life, and understand something of the movements of human history.

Country and character are closely related, special physical environment calling for the exercise of special qualities, which determine the line of development.

A people's character fixes the form and character of religious ideas to which they are susceptible.

Country, therefore, has a clear influence upon religious development. This is obvious in the religions of Greece, Egypt and the Norsemen.

The monotheism of Israel was unique, having practically nothing in common with the Greek Fate, or the dark form that lurks behind the seeming polytheism of Egypt, reflected in the Moslem doctrine of Allah. It was no child of the desert, nor could it spring from the soil of Palestine, so fruitful of divinities. Although they had still much to learn, Israel entered Palestine with the thought of God as *one*, His character being dimly apprehended. The education of Israel in appreciation of the character of God, is the process of revelation.

We consider here one or two points.

Settlement in Palestine meant transition from nomad to agricultural life. Palestine is mainly dependent on the rainfall. Fruitful seasons are therefore in the gift of Him who controls the rain.

But rain will be in vain unless wisely and diligently managed by men. Reverence and fear towards God, together with a spirit of wholesome self-reliance were thus developed. God was *reasonable*.

By disasters and distress following lapses into the obscene rites of native deities, Jehovah taught His hatred of all impurity.

Palestine is a land of many and violent contrasts. In brief space it includes a representation of practically all the conditions, physical and climatic, in which men live in the world, from the Arctic snows of Hermon, to the torrid heat of the Dead Sea. To live and prosper here a man must easily accommodate himself to rapidly changing circumstances. Witness the Jew, everywhere at home. It is from men nurtured in these conditions that the universal truths of religion, the elements that appeal to *man*, will find readiest hospitality, and surest development.

The religions of the world have been largely conditioned by the circumstances and manner of life of the peoples among whom they rose. This is well illustrated by the triumphs and limitations of Islam. It succeeded in countries where climatic conditions closely corresponded with those in the land of its birth. But it has knocked in vain at the gateways of the northern nations. The note of asceticism on the one hand, and of extreme licence on the other, accord well enough with the melancholy,

yet passionate temperament, developed amid warmth and leisure, but they ring falsely in the ears of men who breathe the invigorating air of the hills; whose moral natures are braced in the wholesome conflict with Nature for the means of life.

In Palestine we escape, in a degree nowhere else possible, from the limiting influence of special environment. The character grown in these conditions will be responsive to the revelation with the widest range of application. Other religions are addressed largely to what is accidental and local in human character: their spheres of influence are thus definitely limited. The revelation that comes to us from Palestine unhampered by the like conditions seeks to reach and satisfy, not what is peculiar to nations and kindreds, but what is common to *man as man*. The truth revealed to Israel in her land of rich diversities, makes appeal to the universal heart. Its sphere of influence is co-extensive with the human race.

### ANOTHER THEORY OF THE TABERNACLE.

BY MR. R. B. PATTIE, B.D.

[*Later modifications in square brackets.*]

ACCEPT Dr. Kennedy's explanation of כָּרְשִׁים as open frames, and follow it up freely. First of all, since the middle bar (Exodus xxvi. 28) went through these frames, they stood *across* it, and were not in contact. Then מַכְבִּירִין will mean something like 'locking'; the middle bar tied the range of frames together, while the four bars kept them apart, and were therefore in short pieces. Thus the breadth of the frames had no relation to the length of the Tabernacle, which must be deduced from the dimensions and folding of the curtains. The traditional measures,  $30 \times 10 \times 10$ , are confirmed.

The linen curtains were seen *between* the frames, at the back of chambers [which, with exceptions, were 1 cubit broad]. The decoration came before the sewing together, and therefore the frames were set so as to divide the curtains symmetrically and similarly. There was a defined number of frames to each curtain of 4 cubits; three (on each side) is the only number that can be thought of. Seven of the ten curtains were fully displayed; which would require 21, not 20 frames. But two of the pillars of the veil had to stand near the curtains; a frame on each side was omitted to make room for them, and the fifth curtain from the front had two instead of three. So the framework, uncovered, looked like two houses set together; and the unity of the house had to be emphasised by conspicuous clasps (v. 6).

[The chambers on the west were like the rest; but the six frames were thicker.] The corner frames ranged with the six, their breadth lying from east to west. They presented a side, as well as an edge, to the curtains

Their peculiarities depend on this, and on the need for the middle bars taking good hold of them. [They were 'twin' at the bottom *only*, and 'flush' in certain parts owing to the omission or countersinking of וְלִפְנֵי.]

וְלִפְנֵי, applied to the rings, means that the bars did not go *through*, but rested their ends in them.

One talent of silver was enough to make a socket which would grip the ground and touch its neighbours. [In so far as the sockets added to the height of the frames, they were underground.] They were not intended to hide anything.

The pillars were not equally spaced; all the openings could not be large enough for the ark to pass. Two of the five were gripped by the ends of the middle bars. The וְלִפְנֵי were wooden bars, so placed that the five pillars [but not the four] were bound into a fairly stiff cross frame.

The ratio of 7 to 10 (28 to 40), first given in the linen curtains, frequently recurs, and is the key to the design and the symbolism.

The chambers between the frames were not an imitation of those in Solomon's Temple, but the contrary. In the Tabernacle they were essential; in the Temple they were accessory, and, strictly speaking, unnecessary.

22nd October, 1902.

At this meeting 21 members were present, when the following papers were read, of which abstracts are given: (1) By Professor Robertson, "University Notes, and Notes on Recent Literature." (2) Mr Pattie gave additional "Notes on the Tabernacle." (3) By Rev. H. Duncan, B.D., on "The Sons of the Prophets." (4) By Rev. T. H. Weir, B.D., "Notes on Algeria."

### UNIVERSITY NOTES.

BY REV. PROF. ROBERTSON, D.D., LL.D.

1. *Lectureship in Arabic.* Certain remarks made in April last, at the celebration of my semi-jubilee, and fortunately rescued by the reporters out of a mass of personal details, bore earlier and richer fruit than the speakers anticipated. The Arts Faculty, taking advantage of the clamour for 'modern languages,' had just succeeded in inducing the Court to institute a Lectureship in Italian. It was left to the Divinity Faculty which had a better cognizance of what had hitherto been done, and

a keen perception of what could be, and ought to be done, to forward a recommendation to the Court for the institution of a Lectureship in Arabic. And this is now an accomplished fact. It involves, of course, a multiplication of classes, for provision has to be made, not only for ordinary graduation in both Hebrew and Arabic, but for graduation with honours in the two languages combined. By taking advantage of the summer session, and the addition of a few hours a week during the winter session, the thing will be possible; and we must be thankful for the advance, so far as it has been made. To be effective, however, the lectureship should not be complicated as it is with the ordinary assistantship. Were it endowed, or at least put on an independent and permanent footing, it would furnish a good basis for a fairly satisfactory department of Oriental Languages.

2. *Scholarships.* The Trustees of the John Clark (Mile End) Scholarships have now made arrangements by which one of the Scholarships shall be available once in three years or so, in rotation with other subjects, for Semitic Languages; and as the holder must have graduated with honours, this will be a welcome encouragement to students who desire to prosecute our studies. What is wanted, however, is the institution of one or two well-endowed Scholarships, tenable for at least two years, to enable men to travel and devote themselves entirely for the time to higher study.

3. *New Lectureships.* The 'Alexander Robertson Lectureship' appears for the first time in the *Calendar* of this year. The course, which has the general subject of 'the defence of the Christian religion,' is to be held not oftener than once in every two years, and is to extend to not fewer than five lectures. The appointment is made by a committee consisting of the Principal and the Professors in the Faculty of Divinity. The lecturer is to be paid £100 when the lectures shall have been delivered, and a further sum of £50 if he publishes his lectures within a year after their delivery. Attention is drawn to the Lectureship here because (a) the subject has special interest for most of the members of this Society, and (b) because this is a kind of endowment, on a moderate scale, that might be imitated in other departments. For instance, there is now a Celtic Lectureship in operation, and the lectures of the first course, by Dr. Magnus Maclean have just been published.<sup>1</sup> Is it a dream to think of a number of partially-endowed or even unendowed Lectureships on subjects which, whether they enter into a degree curriculum or not, should find their proper home in the University, to the great enrichment of the University life? One thinks of returned missionaries or chaplains from India who might thus be attached to the teaching staff, and hold themselves ready to give instruction in the languages they have acquired. At the competition for the Indian Civil Service

<sup>1</sup> This Lectureship has now (1907) been put on a permanent footing, and made to qualify for graduation in Arts.

of this year six candidates from Glasgow (out of seven who presented themselves) found places on the successful list—a proof that our students are looking more earnestly than before to this service. But all these will have to go elsewhere for their training in vernacular languages and other subjects necessary for the final examination.

4. *The Study of German.* Mr. Thistlethwaite, the German lecturer, has offered to give assistance to Divinity students who have learned some German at school, and who desire to make greater proficiency. It is greatly to be desired that students should take advantage of such facilities.

5. *The University Library* is going to benefit to the extent of £1000 a year for five years from the Carnegie Trust. This is news that would make heaven sweeter to Dr. Dickson, the late curator of the Library, which will now be enriched by the possession of expensive works of reference which were greatly missed.

#### NOTES ON BOOKS.

By REV. PROF. ROBERTSON, D.D., LL.D.

1. Fairbairn's *Philosophy of the Christian Religion*. Attention is called to this notable book, which has appeared since our last meeting, not because it lies specifically in our line, but because it deals with principles which are involved in the modern critical discussions of Scripture generally. Though Dr. Fairbairn does not formally enter into questions of Old Testament criticism, the consideration of some of his general conclusions will help to keep the feet steady in such discussions as we are accustomed to in the Old Testament field. The remarks on the Semitic instinct generally (p. 216 f.), and on Monotheism in Israel (pp. 267-269) are worth considering; and the distinction between criticism of documents and appreciation of the religion is in Dr. Fairbairn's best manner. Other passages referred to: p. 299, 'History does not lose but gain in accuracy and truth by being mediate, rather than immediately written'; pp. 302-304 and p. 306 ff.

2. Kautzsch: *Die bleibende Bedeutung des Alten Testaments*. The object of this address (to a popular audience) is to vindicate the abiding value of the Old Testament from the educational point of view, and particularly in the education of the young in schools. The main points are: I. A contention for the frank surrender of untenable standpoints; e.g. (1) the mechanical theory of inspiration; (2) the attempt to deny or hush up the preparatory and incomplete standpoint of the Old Testament; and (3) the 'spiritualising' of the Old Testament. II. Recognition of the aesthetic and literary value of the Old Testament; (1) the fine specimens of prose, especially of the Jehovistic narratives; (2) the historical value; (3) the influence of the Old Testament on the literature of the whole

world. III. The ethical and religious significance of the Old Testament. The story of the Fall, *e.g.*, in Gen. iii. is inexhaustible, the child comprehends but a little of it, but that little is a living germ. Moreover, the morality all depends on the root from which it springs, the conception of the holiness and righteousness of God. And we must go a step higher, the abiding value of the Old Testament is that it reveals a plan of salvation. There is a feature of the Old Testament which cannot be explained by the natural process of development, which defies the so-called doctrine of evolution, and that feature is prophecy. Even Social Democrats halt before that door in their scoffs at the Bible. The prophets, however, are speakers in God's name, witnesses of the fact that there is a direct communication between God and man. How this is may be a mystery; the fact is there, as indisputable as the fact that by an electric spark the thought of one may be conveyed through the air to another. If asked what is the deepest basis and final end of all true prophecy, Kautzsch would say, not so much the predicting of the person and work of Christ, as the emphasising of genuine conviction of sin and stimulating the longing for deliverance. And this is the point at which the preaching of John the Baptist and Christ begins.

### THE SONS OF THE PROPHETS.

By REV. HUGH DUNCAN, B.D.

BIBLICAL NOTICES—1 Samuel x. 5-13, xix. 18-24; 1 Kings xx. 35-43; 2 Kings ii. 1-18, iv. 1-7, 38-41, v. 22, vi. 1-7.

Summary of information afforded by these passages :

These societies (1) date back to time of Samuel; (2) by time of Elisha were well-known institutions; (3) had, from very first, some kind of organisation, Samuel being their first נָצִיב; (4) possessed some knowledge of music; (5) were not rich; (6) were subject to ordinary law of the land; (7) were governed by prophets, the members being in some sense 'prophets' themselves; (8) at one centre, unnamed, and presumably at every centre, had a class or lecture-room, as indicated by the phrase הַמְקוֹרִים אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי יוֹשְׁבִים שָׁם לְפָנֶיךָ (2 Kings vi. 1), 'the place where we sit (E.V. 'dwell') before thee.' *Sitting* was the normal attitude of an Eastern scholar.

The name נְבִיִּים does not help us to determine what they were, or in what manner they 'prophesied'; the root meaning is too uncertain to afford sure guidance.

*History.* They made their first appearance in Israel at the time when Saul was designated as King, a time when 'the people had been subdued by the Philistines, and were threatened with national extinction.' But at this critical moment the spirit of patriotism awoke, and with this new movement the Nebi'im were intimately connected. It matters little



whether the awakening be called political or religious ; for 'in Israel of this age national and religious were virtually the same thing.' This upheaval found expression in the 'prophesying' of these Nebi'im.

What do we mean when we say that they 'prophesied' ? One answer : these men were ecstatic enthusiasts akin to dancing-dervishes, and their 'prophesying' was a kind of wild dance. Proofs of this theory : (1) when Saul 'prophesied,' he danced in a state of nudity ; (2) the Nebi'im 'prophesied' to the accompaniment of lyre, tambourine, flute, and harp ; (3) even a prophet like Elisha needed an artificial stimulant to bring about psychic condition necessary for the prophetic impulse ; (4) the prophet is several times described as נָטַף ; (5) the first of the writing prophets deemed it an insult to be reckoned one of them.

*Criticism of this Theory.* (1) That Saul 'danced' is merely an inference from statement that he 'stripped off his clothes.' The narrative does not mention 'dancing' ; the word used, נָטַף, does not mean dancing ; if 'dancing' were intended, the language has many words that would have expressed that fact unequivocally. Further, עָרָם does not mean 'stark-naked,' but only 'uncloaked' ; it could be applied to one wearing only the כִּטְרוֹ. But if not for some form of violent exercise, why did Saul 'strip off his clothes' ? In Ezekiel xxvi. 16 and Jonah iii. 6 laying aside the robe and sitting on the ground or in ashes is a symbol of penitence. Why not here also ?

(2) The accompaniment of lyre, etc., indicates that these Nebi'im were *singing*, not dancing. The Eesaweeyah, at Cairo, in their dance use tambourines only, and this merely to increase the din.

(3) The context shows that Elisha, at the time when he called for a minstrel, was in a hot passion, and so needed, not a stimulant, but a sedative, 'to bring about the psychic condition,' etc.

(4) It is surely very unwise to base an argument on the use of an opprobrious epithet. Christ and St. Paul were both called madmen.

(5) That Amos would have deemed it an insult to be reckoned a prophet or the son of a prophet is utterly incompatible with Amos ii. 11-12, and specially with iii. 7.

The proofs assigned do not, then, substantiate the theory ; and, what is worse, the theory does not fit the facts it is framed to explain.

First. It does not fit in with the initial facts of the case. The dervish is never symptomatic of religious revival : he is the product of religious decline. He is not found, like the Nebi'im, at the beginning of a great onward movement ; he occurs at some later stage as the incarnation of fanatical conservatism.

Second. It affords no explanation of the rise and development of ethical prophecy. 'It would be incorrect,' writes Hermann Guthe in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 'to suppose that Amos and Hosea, as the earliest of these prophets, were the originators of the spiritual conception of God in Israel.' Precisely so ; but who, then, were the originators of it ?

Third. It creates an unbridged gulf between the non-literary and the literary age. 'In Amos,' says Dr. A. B. Davidson, 'the first literary prophet, we find a religious nomenclature already complete ; we find also in him, almost more than in his successors, the prophetic mannerism and technique, such as the phrases, "Oracle of Jahveh," "Thus saith Jahveh," and much else. How did these originate ?'

'It is not too much to suppose,' continues Dr. Davidson, 'that it was in these "schools of the prophets" all down the history that this nomenclature and technique were formed.' That seems to be a moderate view, and a rational theory. It leaves time and room for the process of orderly development. If we accept it, the writing prophets are no longer, like Melchizedec, 'without descent.' But acceptance of it involves the further conclusion that the 'schools of the prophets' were not, in their incipient stage, a noisy rabble of dervishes. On any logical theory of evolution you must have in germ in the earliest stages of the process, that which you find fully evolved at the end of it. But you cannot evolve preachers of righteousness from raving dervishes. The only alternative theory is that the 'schools of the prophets' were, from the first, establishments that were concerned with religious and educational matters, and composed of students of music, poetry, national history, etc.

Was Amos really the first writing prophet ? It takes a long time before an art like that of writing percolates to the lower strata of society. Yet here is a herdsman, a son of the people, who can write. How did he acquire this great gift ?

## NOTES ON ALGERIA.

By REV. T. H. WEIR, B.D.

ALGERIA is one of the most variedly interesting countries in the world. The Roman remains found there rival in extent and perfection those of Italy itself ; and since their time the country has always stood out prominently in history. It was the home of Augustine, the seat of the Donatist schism, and in later days the land of the Corsairs. The population is as varied as the history. Arabs, Turks, Kabailis, Jews, French and other Europeans are all marked out by their distinctive garb. North Africa, east and west of Algiers, is traversed for many hundred of miles by the railway system, as well as towards the desert in the south ; and the roads are magnificent. Under the French Government the people appear to be much happier than those of Morocco, although there is the inevitable political discontent. French scholars have done much to make the native literature accessible to all. A more desirable country in which to spend a winter it would be hard to find.

27th April, 1903.

At this meeting 16 members were present. The following papers were read, of which abstracts are given: (1) By Mr Pattie, "Notes on Exceptional Pointing." (2) By Dr. Thomson, "A critical study of Psalm CXIX." (3) By Rev. H. Y. Arnott, B.D., "Hebrew Poetry."

#### NOTES ON EXCEPTIONAL POINTING.

BY MR. R. B. PATTIE, B.D.

SINCE Hebrew pointing is an artificial system, applied to a practically dead language, it is strange that it is not carried out systematically. Examination of a few cases leads to a theory which may account for the inconsistencies.

Some of the irregular words are precisely those which, if they had been regular, would have been chosen as examples of the rules. In dealing with the Segholate nouns, מֶלֶךְ would have strong claims to be regarded as the type; but unfortunately it does not change in pause. אֵל is the most frequently used of those that begin with א, and the first that occurs; but with the article it takes a way which no other follows. If it were desired to exhibit the shifting of Daghes in the inflexion of Segholates, an example would be chosen in which all the consonants are in סֶגְוֹלָה: מֶלֶךְ is the only one, and it is irregular in this very point. Of other departments of the grammar, similar phenomena are found.

The explanation is that these words were actually chosen as examples by the earliest teachers. Later generations, further removed from the living language, found some reason for disagreeing with them; but, as usual, did not venture to deny the dicta of the ancients. Since the old doctrines were not expressed in abstract rules, but in typical examples, it was open to the new school to treat the examples as exceptions, and so to embalm them in the pointing.

If this be so, the exceptions embody an earlier tradition than the rules, and bring us nearer to the living pronunciation. But of course there may also be cases for which other reasons must be found.

#### CRITICISM OF PSALM CXIX.

BY REV. J. E. H. THOMSON, D.D.

As this Psalm is not attributed to any author we can study the questions of its date and authorship untrammelled by the 'Titles' of the Psalms, or obliged to determine their historical value. It has been generally regarded

as late for various reasons: it is placed in the last of the five Books into which the Psalter is divided, and this it is presumed was the latest in point of time; its acrostic form is supposed to indicate a late date; then there are Aramaisms alleged to be found in it and other linguistic peculiarities which point to Post-Exilic times, if not even the times of the Maccabees. These reasons are by no means conclusive. Against the first it must be observed we have no idea on what principle the Jews arranged the order of the Books of the Psalter. The 1st, 2nd, and 3rd do not seem to have been placed in chronological order: moreover, even if the last two Books were added later to the Collection it does not follow that all the poems of which they were composed were late; Psalm XC., ascribed to Moses, is in the 4th Book. Against the 2nd; artificialities in versification denote the adolescence of a Literature, not its decrepitude, *e.g.* Dante's 'Terza Rima,' and the French 'Ballade' and 'Rondeau.' Against the 3rd is the extremely doubtful character of the instances alleged. As the form of the poem and its language afford no reliable data on which to determine its date we must consider the contents. We shall then endeavour to find out from the poem: 1st, something of the station and biography of the writer; 2nd, where the poem was written; 3rd, its date.

I. *The Writer.* First, however, we must consider whether what seem to be personal notes are really so; Olshausen maintains that Israel is regarded as personified, this, however, is contrary to the analogy of Hymn books; cf. *e.g.* Newman's 'Lead kindly Light,' or Cowper's 'There is a fountain filled with blood.' Assuming that what seem to be personal notes are really so, let us ask what was the age of the writer. Some have held that he must have been old. That, however, does not suit with his declaration, 'I understand more than the aged,' (v. 100). Some have thought him to be young. But the prominent place he occupies—'Princes sit and speak against him'—precludes extreme youth; such influence is never in the East given to the young. He must then be, as Dr. Perowne thinks, in early middle life. As to his social position; he was in the court; he declares he 'will speak of God's testimonies before kings.' We have referred to the conduct of the princes; had the Psalmist been an unimportant person they would not have spoken against him, they would have done away with him. He appears to have suffered from malaria, v. 88. 'I am become as a bottle in the smoke.' His enemies endeavour to compromise him, they 'dig pits for him.' His position is that of a Prophet in the court of a regardless King.

II. This turns on the meaning we are to assign to 'Stranger' in v. 19. This is not to be taken literally, for, were it literal, the concomitants of exile—distance from the house of God, association with heathen, etc., would have been prominent. As an analogy one may refer to 'I'm but a stranger here.' The Psalmist resides among people on whom the law of God is incumbent, for he speaks of 'horror taking hold

of him 'because of the wicked that forsake Thy law.' That means he was in Palestine, for, as the Apostle says, 'What things the law saith it saith to them who are under the law.'

III. *Its Date.* It must have been written while there was a king in Israel, therefore before the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. Princes are prominent, therefore, not unlikely in the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim. In many things it suits the Prophet Jeremiah. Against his being the author is to be set the tendency to attribute anonymous writings of any excellence to men already famous; thus the Rabbin credited Moses with having written 'Job.' Had there been the shadow of excuse for attributing this Psalm to Jeremiah it would have been done. It may have been Urijah, who fled to Egypt to escape the wrath of Jehoiakim, but was brought back and put to death. A subsidiary proof of the date we have assigned being correct is the fact that in 'Lamentations,' attributed to Jeremiah, four of the five chapters of which it is composed are alphabetic. This proves that alphabetic poems were in fashion then.

## HEBREW POETRY.

By REV. H. Y. ARNOTT, B.D.

FOR our knowledge of the poetical art of the ancient Hebrews we are indebted solely to the Old Testament, in which it plays an important part. In Bible Hebrew throughout, both prose and poetry, there has always been recognised a musical cadence, not only in clauses and sentences, but also of idea, so that it is sometimes difficult to differentiate between what is prose and what is poetry. Still there are many passages whose aim is æsthetic enjoyment rather than mere instruction, and which, like all true poetry, seek to play upon the emotions and imagination of the hearer.

Hebrew poetry is mainly of two kinds, lyrical and didactic. There is no epic and no drama. Though dramatic elements are to be found in many of the odes, and the books of Job and Canticles have sometimes been called divine dramas, yet dramatic poetry, properly so called, is altogether wanting in the literature of Israel, a peculiarity which it shares with the whole Semitic literature.

Lyrical poetry is found from the earliest times, and with one marked exception—the lament of David—is almost entirely of a religious character. It was chiefly designed for the public services of the sanctuary, and commemorated stirring events in the nation's history, and the signal favour of God shown in many ways. Its earliest specimen is the song of Moses after the overthrow of the Egyptian host. In it both in form and spirit we find much that characterises all the later poetry.

There were three great eras of lyric poetry. The first began with David, whose reputation as a psalmist must have had some tolerably substantial foundation on which to rest. After David a school of sacred

poetry seems to have arisen among the Jews which he may be said to have founded, and to which many psalms styled 'Psalms of David' really belong. The second active period in Hebrew poetry was the age of Jehoshaphat and Hezekiah when the Temple worship was restored. But this revival was far surpassed during the third great era, in the grand outburst of song which accompanied the return from the captivity.

In considering the form of Hebrew poetry, note its difference from Western ideas into which rhyme enters largely and dominates the sense. There is no rhyme, at least in the earlier ages, before coming into contact with other nations and languages. Nor yet is there scansion. There are, however, certain forms of alliteration; the musical cadence of the clauses is emphasised; but the most distinctive feature is the parallelism of Hebrew poetry. In this parallelism word corresponds to word, and phrase to phrase, and sometimes verse to verse; in places it can even be traced throughout whole paragraphs. By variety of parallelism the poet attains variety of style.

28th October, 1903.

At this meeting 23 members were present. The following papers were read, of which abstracts are here given: (1) "Divination in Ancient Egypt," by Rev. P. H. Aitken, B.D. D.Litt. (2) "Modern Phases of Mohammedanism in India," by Rev. R. M'C. Paterson, B.D., of Gujrat. (3) "Additional Notes on the Tabernacle," by Mr Pattie. (4) "Notes on Education in Algeria and Egypt," by Professor Robertson.

#### DIVINATION IN ANCIENT EGYPT.

BY REV. P. HENDERSON AITKEN, B.D., B.Sc., D.LITT.

CHALDEA and Egypt are mentioned by Cicero in his *De Divinatione* as the home and source of those beliefs and practices which have survived to the present day as 'occult sciences.' This assignation is confirmed by the unanimous verdict of classical antiquity, by the consistent tradition of medieval writers, Jewish, Arab and European, and not least by the singular fact that the modern names 'magician' and 'gypsy' were originally national surnames and really mean 'Chaldean' and 'Egyptian' respectively. The forefathers of the present-day gypsy came to Europe from India *via* Egypt and their descendants have since retained the name of their place of sojourn. It is a striking and significant fact that we still

popularly associate the practice of fortune-telling with a people, rightly or wrongly, called after the ancient dwellers by the Nile. Egyptian divination was neither shamanistic nor diabolic but theurgic. Theosophical magic is based on the conception of an infinite Deity between whom and man there intervenes a series of mediating emanations. The religion of Egypt, based on the worship of RA, the Sun-god, the manifestation of one Supreme Living Power, came to mean the ultimate identification of the faithful devotee of Osiris, the hidden sun, with his divine champion. Assimilation to the divine was thus the final ideal of the Egyptians' faith, and, in their occult science, was sought by special conditions of clairvoyant illumination induced by methods analogous to the excitation of the optic nerve induced by M. Charcot and the modern hypnotic school by the use of brightly illuminated revolving mirrors, etc. Iamblichus (*De Mysteriori*, c. iii. § 14) mentions an exactly parallel procedure which would bring on the hypnotic condition in the medium. Lane (*Modern Egyptians*, vol. i., pp. 348, etc.) describes a *seance* witnessed by himself in which the medium's gaze was focussed on a drop of ink in his palm till the hypnotic condition was obtained. Joseph's divining cup was part of the professional diviner's apparatus. His popular salutation 'Abrech' was a loan-word from the vocabulary of Chaldean magic (ABRIKHU, ABRAXHU = a seer).

## MOHAMMEDANISM IN INDIA.

By REV. R. M'CHEYNE PATERSON, B.D.

My object was to show how much the conquering religion—Mohammedanism—had in turn been conquered by its defeated foe—Hinduism. How shrines once Hindu had still continued sacred with at most a changed name—and in some places not even that, for there are shrines which are worshipped by both under different names at different times of the year!

Then the accursed 'caste system' has laid its cold hand upon the heart of Mohammedanism and robbed it of its old missionary fire. So it being no longer missionary is stationary and corrupted. In fact, the lethargy of Hinduism has crept into its old rival, and both stagnate side by side. Everywhere we find these ancient foes combining to oppose Christianity. They want things to remain as they are, and we find the Mohammedans indignant that Hindus are becoming Christian, and Hindus indignant with Mohammedans when they are baptized, for they are 'false to the faith of their fathers.' It is the curse of antiquity—not unknown in the religions of the West—which has benumbed Mohammedanism, once burning with missionary ardour.

There can be no doubt that Hinduism also has suffered at the hands of Mohammedanism. Where is that ancient chivalrous regard for womanhood—worthy of the best days of our own ancient history—which the ancient

Indians evinced in many a tournament and joust where some fair princess graced the field and awarded the prizes ?

The terrible 'purdah' system darkens many a Hindu home and leads to that ignorance and bigotry which arrays the women of India against Christian Missions.

As to the new sects among Mohammedans out here, we have within the last twenty years seen two modern developments. The one is sceptical and the result of a narrow materialistic view of Nature. This sect has sprung from contact with Western culture in its rationalistic phase. Many of the educated youth have turned *Naturees* as they are vulgarly called.

Another sect is composed of the followers of Mohammedan Mullah who calls himself *Messiah*. He pretends to very great prophetic power and gives out that Jesus did *die*. Very wonderful this, and a clear indication that the Divine plan is to have him teach to Mohammedans what so many deny, that Jesus did die and was buried. All true Mohammedans of course assert He is alive. So God is teaching them the whole truth of the Gospel.

The Revival among so many Indian Christians is opening the eyes of many Mohammedans, and there perhaps never were more enquirers from among them than at present.

## NOTES ON EDUCATION IN ALGERIA AND IN EGYPT.

By REV. PROF. ROBERTSON, D.D., LL.D.

THESE two countries, differing in history, race and civil government, are both parts of the great Mohammedan world. It is interesting to note the lines that have been followed in the respective cases in the matter of education during practically the same period of 70 years. Algiers was occupied by the French in 1830, and it was in 1833 that Mehemet Ali obtained from the Sultan of Turkey the title of Wali or Governor, and was confirmed in his rule in return for an annual tribute.

ALGERIA. It is difficult to realise the fact that in the first decades of the nineteenth century the Corsairs of Algiers were a terror to the whole world, laying under tribute even the distant United States of America ; that it was not till 1816 that Christian slavery was abolished ; and that as late as 1824 'all the disgraceful ceremonies in the intercourse between the representatives of Great Britain and the Turkish authorities were continued. The Consul was obliged, the moment he came in sight of the Dey's palace, to walk bareheaded in the hottest sun ; in waiting for an audience, he had to sit on a stone bench in the public passage ; he could not wear a sword in the Dey's presence, nor ride to the palace, though his own servants, if Mohammedans, might do so.' The insolent



treatment of the French Consul by the Dey brought matters to a head ; a French army landed in 1830 and took possession of Algiers, and the Dey was allowed to leave the country. It was an evil heritage to take up, and if the seventy years' occupation has not accomplished all that might have been expected, it is to be remembered that the people the French had undertaken to rule had been accustomed to regard all Europeans as their natural enemies and inferiors, that the native rulers had been as unscrupulous and oppressive to the people as they had been overbearing and insolent to the foreigner ; and that the native tribes were at continued feud among themselves. In an official handbook the total population of the country is thus given :

I. French,	-	-	-	-	-	385,000	
Naturalised Jews,	-	-	-	-	-	60,000	
							425,000
Foreigners (Italians, Spaniards, etc.),	-	-	-	-	-		250,000
							675,000
II. Natives,	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,075,000
							4,750,000

Though the mass of the 'natives' are Muslims, yet those of Arab race, the descendants of the invaders of the seventh and eleventh centuries, are reckoned to amount only to one million. By far the largest part of the native stock are the descendants of the earlier inhabitants, variously designated Berber, Kabylie, etc. It would appear that any education existing in Algeria before the French occupation must have been confined to the Arabic-speaking section of the population. The Berber races, though they speak a language, or rather dialects of their own, have no written literature. The language has been studied by French scholars, but it is printed by them in Roman characters. On the other hand, the Arabic-speaking natives had the Qorán in their mother tongue : and Algeria produced, and does produce, native scholars of eminence. Dr. Wortabet of Beyrout wrote to me recently : 'The most learned Mohammedans I have met with are the refugees who came to Syria with the Emir Abdul Qadir, himself a learned man. One of them, the Sheikh Tahir, is an encyclopaedia of Arab learning, a born orator, liberal and of the finest character. He lives in Damascus, the custodian of its libraries, and we are the best and firmest of friends.' Nevertheless, the great mass of the native population may be described as very illiterate, although of late years especially the French authorities have done not a little for education. But as the two layers of population, the European and the native, show no tendency to amalgamation, there are practically two distinct systems of education, one for Europeans, the other for the natives.

*French Education.*—This is very complete and well organised. There is an *École Supérieure*, or College, with Faculties of Letters, Law, Science, Medicine, and Pharmacy, and young men can obtain the same qualifications in these subjects as in France. In the Faculty of Letters there is a very full and competent staff of teachers of Arabic, Professor Basset being the Principal or Dean. There are, however, very few native students, the education provided being for the colonists, to enable them to fill posts in the civil service, or as interpreters in the army. For the Secondary Education there is a Lyceum at each of the three capitals of provinces, Algiers, Oran, and Constantine, the pupils at the Algiers Lyceum numbering about a thousand. Primary education is of two grades: Higher primary, given in four Normal Colleges and four superior primary schools; and Elementary primary in 1400 schools of all kinds. Thorough provision is made for French education of all grades, and it is all free.

*Native Education.* There is a Madrasah, or Native High School, for the higher education, supported by Government, and intended to prepare men for public functions. Instruction is given in Theology, Muslim Law and Arabic Literature, but a European education is also given in geography and history. Of primary schools for natives there are said to be 220 in different parts of the country. In Algiers alone there are two large and well-appointed primary schools at which a good education, both in French and in Arabic is given. The Government gives the greatest encouragement to the teaching of French, and even the illiterate natives in the streets of Algiers speak French (of a kind) when addressing Europeans. Of course there are, besides these State-supported schools, the very elementary schools attached to the mosques, and taught by the imāms.

EGYPT. Mehemet Ali put a high value on education. His plan for the education of the country was to select a number of young men of good families and send them to Europe (mostly to France) with the idea that they would come back educated men to instruct the people. The result was hardly adequate to the expense incurred; but the scheme explains the greater prevalence of French as the European language of the country. Especially during the 'dual control,' the demand for French in the schools preponderated over that for English; but since the time of the British occupation the demand for English has increased. In the time of Mehemet Ali and his successors, various high schools or colleges, medical, military, etc., were instituted, more attention being given by the Government to the higher education (of a limited number) than to the primary education (of the masses). Meanwhile, however, the various missionary societies had done much by elementary schools to educate the common people; and of recent years, especially under the enlightened guidance of Dr. Douglas Dunlop, something like a national system of education, graded upwards to all kinds of colleges, has been organised, and is working well. Lord Cromer advocates the teaching of

Arabic alone in the primary schools, and the confining of French and English to higher schools as a branch of instruction for those only who are to be trained for the public services.

27th April, 1904.

At this meeting 15 members were present, and the following papers were read, of which abstracts are given: (1) By Rev. James Millar, B.D., "The Code of Hammurabi." (2) By Mr. Robert Morris, M.A., "General Aspects of Buddhism in Japan." There was also a discussion on the "Proposed Academic Session of Three Terms, and the Modification of the Curriculum."

#### LAW CODE OF HAMMURABI.

BY REV. JAMES MILLAR, B.D.

THIS famous law code was published by Hammurabi, the sixth in succession of the Babylonian kings of the first dynasty, c. B.C. 2250. It presents us with the picture of a complex and highly organised state of society, dealing as it does with the conditions under which architects, shipbuilders, merchants, bankers and lawyers pursued their various callings. It is astonishingly modern in its principles and in many of its details. It is true the application of the *lex talionis* strikes us as sometimes rather harsh and barbarous, but when we compare the code with the earliest portions of the Mosaic Law this feeling is dispelled.

The code originally contained about 282 clauses, about 34 of which have been obliterated. These deal with (1) Marriage—including betrothal and questions regarding the purchase money and dowry; the rights of husband and wife in their property; and the *patria potestas* strictly defined and delimited: (2) The Law of Inheritance which resembled Scots more than English law in its fairness and equality: (3) The Law of Real Property which, while admitting the principle of the Law of Entail, was not marred by that of Primogeniture and was governed by due regard to the inalienable right of the community as a whole in the land and its productive power: (4) The Law of Trade determining the nature of contracts and the process for recovering debts: (5) Agricultural Laws, etc., etc.

The penal provisions, while founded on the *lex talionis*, show no trace of the vendetta: the law was supreme and the king alone punished.

The local colouring confirms that of the patriarchal times as recorded in Genesis, but the relation to the Law of Moses is not yet determined.

NOTES ON CERTAIN ASPECTS OF BUDDHISM  
IN JAPAN.

BY MR. ROBERT MORRIS, M.A.

ABSTRACT PREPARED BY REV. GEO. ANDERSON, B.D.

THE subject is very complicated, there being no less than eight principal and at least thirty-seven subordinate sects of Buddhists in the country. Buddhism was first introduced into Japan from China and Korea about the middle of the sixth century of the Christian era, and spread rapidly. It had no difficult struggle with Shintoism, the indigenous faith, though there has been in recent years a Shinto revival. This revival, however, is artificial, and is due to patriotic and political reasons, not religious, and the most popular Shinto sects are those which attempt to supply from Christian and Buddhist sources the teaching which Shinto proper lacks.

Buddhism originally recognised no gods or divine authority, and taught that the future of all living beings was determined by their actions (Karma). The process of death and birth was held to go on until the subject of them had by his good deeds and meditations arrived at absolute purity and emancipation from all desires, when he attained the state known as Nirvana, which was probably regarded as annihilation.

Popular Buddhism has in Japan considerably departed from the original type. It has created or adapted from abstractions or adopted from other religions a very large number of divinities, each with a definite province, each of whom has to be prayed to by those desiring good offices, gods who have to be worshipped, who reward those who have done well and punish either in this life or in the life to come those who have done ill. Among these gods are Amida, Binzuru, Emma-ō, Fudo, Jizō, Kōmpira, Kwannon, the Niō and Shaka Muni. Buddhist temples are numerous, but are used more for private prayer than for public worship.

## PROPOSED ACADEMIC SESSION OF THREE TERMS.

BY REV. PROF. ROBERTSON, D.D., LL.D.

THE objections to the present academic year are (1) that the winter session is too long a strain upon teachers and students, and does not allow the students to assimilate the instruction; and (2) that the summer session is not the proper continuation of the winter, but merely a half of an ordinary session. The remedy proposed is to institute one continuous session or academic year of twenty-five teaching weeks, with holidays at Christmas and at Easter, and a recess of about four months. The advantage in such subjects as are taught mainly by lectures, would be that the lectures could be given on, say, three days a week, the other two days being devoted to tutorial and sectional study. But it is generally

agreed that other subjects, such as languages and mathematics, which are taught *de die in diem*, might complete the academic year in two of the terms into which the whole session is to be divided. The session would begin early in October, the close depending upon the length of the holidays falling within the limits of the twenty-five *teaching weeks*: all examinations would fall before or after the teaching session. The proposal emanated from the Arts Faculty and applies primarily to it. But the Divinity Faculty of Glasgow, to whom with the other faculties it was submitted, approved warmly of it, and hailed it as a prospective means of widening the scope of the Divinity curriculum. The following Scheme, suggested by Dr. Stewart, has been favourably received in that view:

- First*, Winter—Divinity, Church History, Junior Hebrew.  
Summer—New Testament Greek, Comparative Theology.
- Second*, Winter—Divinity, Biblical Criticism, Senior Hebrew.  
Summer—Hebrew (Advanced), Christian Ethics.
- Third*, Winter—Divinity, Church History, Biblical Criticism.  
Summer—Church Law, Practical Theology.

26th October, 1904.

At this meeting there were 20 members present, and the following papers, of which abstracts are given, were read:

- (1) "Notes on Recent Literature," by Professor Robertson.
- (2) "Euphony in Hebrew," by Rev. Wm. Rollo, M.A.
- (3) "The Arabic Dialects of Aleppo, and the Fellahin Dialects of Central Galilee," by Rev. Wm. Christie, M.A. of Aleppo.

#### NOTES ON RECENT LITERATURE.

By REV. PROF. ROBERTSON, D.D., LL.D.

BRIEF notices given, and, in most cases, copies or parts of the books exhibited. (1) Commentaries: continuations of the *Hand Kommentar*, *Kurzer Hand Kommentar*, *International Critical Commentary*, *Polychrome Bible*, Strack & Zöckler; Driver's *Genesis* in the Westminster series; Charles F. Kent's *Student's Old Testament*, 'logically and chronologically arranged.' (2) Continuations or completions: Part XI. of the new *Gesenius Lexicon*, by Brown, Driver and Briggs; le Page Renouf's *Book of the Dead*, completed and edited by Naville; fifth (supplementary) volume of *Hastings' Bible Dictionary*; Cheyne's *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (completed), also Cheyne's *Critica Biblica*; *Der Alte Orient*, of which there are now English translations (at a shilling each) of six parts; *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, vol. vi. (3) The Babel and Bible Controversy sketched, and a

list of the literature up to date. In connection, note that Gunkel's *Introduction to Genesis* is now published separately in English under the title of *The Legends of Genesis*. Also note a thoroughgoing book, Barton's *Sketch of Semitic Origins*; 'a study primarily not of the pure white lily which has sprung from Semitic soil, but of the chemistry of that soil itself.' Peters' *Early Hebrew Story: its historical background* (Crown Theology Library) is a well digested and well designed book. (4) The October issue of the Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund is of particular interest, as containing accounts of the explorations of Macalister at Gezer and of Sellin at Taanach. (5) The English translation of Nöldeke's *Syriac Grammar*, done by Rev. Dr. Crichton, Parish Minister of Annan, has at last appeared, and will be a great boon to students. (6) Three new books on Islam: *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*, by Professor D. B. Macdonald, Hartford, Conn.; *The History of Philosophy in Islam*, by Dr. T. J. de Boer, translated by E. R. Jones (Luzac); and *The Sheikhs of Morocco in the XVI. Century*, by T. H. Weir. (7) A useful *Introduction to the Talmud*, by Mielziner, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati (Funk & Wagnalls), the third part, on Methodology and Terminology, being particularly valuable to the Christian student, who finds it very hard to understand the technical terms of the Talmud.

### EUPHONY IN HEBREW.

By REV. WM. ROLLO, M.A.

THE laws of euphony seem to be

(1) Mechanical smoothness, which implies:

- (a) that a consonant formed by one set of organs prefers a vowel governed by the same set;
- (b) Progressive movements of the organs of speech, i.e. so far as vowel changes can facilitate the lingual flow, those vowels are chosen which will enable the organs of speech to take the natural sequence of throat, teeth, lips, or lips, teeth, throat, etc.;
- (c) Avoidance of reversals or backward movements, such as teeth, lips, throat; throat, lips, teeth.

The writer, when a boy, had to teach a younger brother to say the Lord's Prayer. The child persisted in saying "gis uf" for "give us," and "groly" for "glory," showing the easiness of progressive movements, and the difficulty of going forward and then backward.

(2) Pleasantness to the ear, which implies:

- (a) Avoidance of monotony;
- (b) Securing variety of vowel sound;
- (c) Beauty of vowel colour.

## NOTES ON THE ARABIC DIALECT OF ALEPPO.

BY REV. W. M. CHRISTIE, B.D.

ABSTRACT PREPARED BY REV. T. H. WEIR, B.D.

It is difficult in north Syria to define the geographical limits of a dialect. We speak of the dialect of Syria as distinct from that of Egypt or the west. On the other hand Aleppo itself is said to have three dialects. One dialect may be said to be spoken in North Syria or the Vilayet of Aleppo, leaving out the desert on the east, and with the addition of some districts about the north-east corner of the Mediterranean.

In regard to grammar the Syrian dialects of Arabic do not vary. The language is in the same stage of decadence as Biblical Hebrew. That is the *nunation*, the final vowels, the dual of adjectives and verbs, and the difference of moods are all gone. This may be due to the influence of the pre-Islamic Aramaic, for the influence of a sister speech is much greater in modifying a language than is a foreign tongue. Perhaps the first point which will strike one is the absence of *sh* (for *they*) after a negative which is found in most other dialects of Arabic. For *mush* and *ma . . . sh* the north Syrian has simply the classical *ma*, or in Antioch *mau* (for *ma hu*). *Abu* (father of) is freely used. Dr. Thomson was called 'father of a basin' from his wide-awake; a German professor 'father of umbrella'; a seller of charcoal or firewood, 'father of charcoal' or 'firewood'; a piece of six piastres is called a 'father of six,' and so on. *Biddi* (I wish) of the southern dialects becomes *kinni*, and an equally common word is *konsor* (I think), perhaps Turkish *ulusu*. The definite article is used even before prepositions, *el fusta*, 'the within it,' *el foka*, 'the above it,' exactly as *הַעֲלִיָּה* in 1 Samuel ix. 24.

In regard to pronunciation the dialect of Aleppo does not differ greatly from those of the rest of Syria. The Muslims, however, pronounce the guttural *k* correctly, cf. the Samaritan Targum in which the verb 'to hear' is either *שָׁמַע*, *שָׁמַח*, or *שָׁמַק*. So in Jeremiah x. 11 we find both *אֶרֶץ* and *אֶרֶץ* for 'land.' With Jews and Christians *ṣ* is pronounced as *s*, *th* as *t*, *dh* as *d*.

Contraction is largely used, e.g., *fust* for *fi wust*. The final consonant is frequently dropped, as *ma ba'ri* for *ma bi'rif*. The Jews say *a'i* for *ka'id*. Cf. Hebrew *אֵשׁ* for *אֶשׁ*. Transposition of letters is common: the Jews say *na'al* for *la'an*.

The vocabulary of Aleppo contains many words not used elsewhere. The Muslims say *Yom* for 'O mother'; *Yob* for 'O father.' Among the Jews curiously enough, Spanish words are extremely rare. They say *kish burra* for 'God forbid'; 'evil things' is *riha'at* = *רִישָׁע*; *rake* for a low person, said to mean small stones used to fill up interstices in building. 'Woe is me' is *Ya khabalti*—the concluding word on Aramaic tombstones. Many Turkish common nouns are used and some verbs.

26th April, 1905.

At this meeting there were 26 members present, and the following papers were read: (1) By Rev. D. R. Alexander, B.D., on "Some Aspects of the Old Testament Outlook on the World and Life." (2) By Rev. W. W. Fulton, B.D., on "East and West."

### SUMMARY OF PAPER ON 'ASPECTS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT OUTLOOK ON LIFE.'<sup>1</sup>

BY REV. D. R. ALEXANDER, B.D.

THIS outlook, though varying with Israel's history, is essentially moral and religious. The Old Testament is concerned neither with science, history, nor culture as such, but solely with conduct and life. It is a revelation of God. It is the seed, of which Christianity is the fruit.

The Hebrews trace all things to the will of God. God is everything and man is nothing (cf. Psalm lxxiii. 25 and Isaiah xlv. 6). This fundamental view contrasts with the Greek conception that the chief good is culture, and it avoids Mohammedan fatalism, which, though ascribing everything to Allah, destroys human responsibility.

The Hebrew ideals are at first simple and material. They are strength, conquest, freedom, patriotism, peace, possessions, joy, beauty, friendship, love, reputation and wisdom. They are summed up in life itself, a healthy, free, contented, peaceful, happy, rich and respected life. These are all gifts of God and special marks of His presence and favour.

In the passage from the agricultural to the more purely commercial stage, life becomes more complex, and these earlier simple material ideals are no longer adequate. With their deeper vision and stronger sense of the divine the prophets subordinate them, gifts of God though they be, to the more distinctively moral and spiritual graces. They speak of these gifts generally by the words שָׁלוֹם and שִׁשְׁתִּי (with its cognates), adding a deeper and more spiritual sense to these words, the former signifying not only peace but completeness, prosperity, good of any kind, and the latter signifying both rescue by God from political danger and from all outward evil, and also salvation from sin. These words mark the transition to the higher prophetic standpoint, according to which special stress is laid upon such virtues as טוֹב 'goodness,

<sup>1</sup> The subject and its treatment were suggested by Sellin's *Beiträge zur Israelitischen u. jüdischen Religionsgeschichte, II. Israel's Güter u. Ideale*, 1897.



kindness' (cf. Hos.); אִמּוּנָה 'firmness, steadfastness, fidelity'; אֱמֻנָה 'firmness, faithfulness, truth'; מִשְׁפָּט 'rectitude'; צִדְקָה 'righteousness'; or the general term including all the foregoing כֹּיֵב 'benefit, welfare, a good thing.' By their profound moral and spiritual teaching the prophets saved the Old Testament religion from Eudaimonism and its ethics from Utilitarianism.

In times of national oppression the value of material gifts is diminished, poverty idealised, and the poor and meek are identified with godly Israel (cf. the use of such words as אֲבִיּוֹן poor, צַדִּיק righteous, עֲנִיִּים humble).

From another point of view the content of Old Testament revelation is much enriched. It is the attempt to solve the problem of suffering. The traditional belief is that ills are the result and punishment of sin. The problem is discussed in many psalms (cf. xxxvii. xlix. lxxiii.), and above all in the book of Job. Under discussion the theory in its original baldness is modified by the suppositions (1) that the prosperity of the wicked is short-lived; and (2) that the children bear the penalty of the father's sin—the family in some cases being quite extirpated. No definite solution is reached, but troubles are recognised as a means of training and not mere punishments for special sin. Faith in God is strengthened and re-established; it becomes purer and more disinterested. God is the rock, to which every pious sufferer may cling amid the worst storms of misfortune and loss (cf. Hab. iii. 17-19, and Job xiii. 15 and xix. 25).

At first the Hebrew religion is mainly, if not wholly, national. Worship is associated with special localities, in Deuteronomy with the central sanctuary at Jerusalem, and with the land itself. Jahweh is the God of Israel, and Israel the people of Jahweh. It is not until the times of Jeremiah and Ezekiel that the sense of individual responsibility becomes prominent. Religion is regarded not only as a national matter, but as a communion between individuals and Jahweh, though previous to these prophets this individualistic relation to God is implicitly present through prayer and devotion.

Traces of progress towards a universal religion appear in those portions of the Old Testament which approach nearest in spirit to the New Testament; in Hosea's doctrine that God is primarily love; in the philanthropy of Deuteronomy; in the sense of personal responsibility in Jeremiah and Ezekiel; in the moral ideals of Job (chap. xxxi.); in the deepening of religious thought and feeling through the exile, and in the sense of compassion for the heathen in the book of Jonah.

## 'EAST AND WEST.'

By REV. W. W. FULTON, B.D.

"O East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet."

THE paper dealt with the failure of Western ideals to impress permanently the East. This was illustrated by the successive historic movements of the West upon the East in the case of (1) The Greeks, (2) The Romans, (3) The Crusaders. None of these movements was a permanent conquest: in the Asia of to-day we find practically no trace of their influence. To come to the present time, the spectacle of the British in India, and the Slav in North Asia makes us doubt our dream of the Larger Imperialism as it is conceived by the Western mind. It brings home to us the fact that conquest and conversion are, after all, mutual affairs—that the convert and the vanquished are often in many respects on a level with their captors—nay, destined even to survive and outlive them.

Notwithstanding the apparent success of British rule in India, such a deep separateness in civilisation, ideas and creed persists as to justify the description of our government there, 'Small films of white men spread over the brown.' Separated as are East and West, brown men and white, by a gulf of thoughts, aspirations and conclusions, the point of possible fusion is impossible to discover so long as we remain in ignorance and neglect of the secret of their difference.

We forget that every creed which has dominated the West really had its origin in Asia. The white man invents the steam engine, interrogates the secrets of Nature, and knows the use of mechanical appliances; but he has founded no religion which endured.

*Some reasons of this radical separateness.* (1) The Asiatic desires to be governed, both in the state and in religion, by an absolute will. Europe tends to self-government; makes of government an earthly and human business. (2) The Asiatic believes his social system is divine. The English tenure of rule in India is due to their recognition of this belief, and that they do not interfere with this belief. (3) Asiatics dislike Christianity, accepting it only on one side of its teaching. The Christian correlative of the command to worship God, viz. 'Love thy neighbour as thyself,' is hostile to their main idea. To accept it would pulverise their social system. Yet Mahometanism can succeed in India where Christianity fails. India may be described as a Hindoo country in which the Mahometans are numerous. Every Mussulman is a missionary desirous of securing converts. He welcomes his convert as a son: unlike the Western missionary, he sees no incongruity in giving his daughter to the neophyte in marriage. The reason of the more rapid spread of Mahometanism is simply that the converts and hearers are equally Asiatic.

Besides, the missionaries of Islam have this further advantage over Christian missionaries, that they do not destroy the caste which the Indian holds sacred and essential to his safety. They say to the Hindoo, 'Don't give up your caste, but change it for ours.' The exchange is for a Prouder Caste, which claims special relation to God, and the right of ruling absolutely the rest of mankind.

The continuance of the cleavage of East and West is due as much to the Western mode of approach as to the apathy of the East. The prime fault of the Western is his attempt to Europeanise the Asiatic. This is a false end. Not that Christianity is offered, but that it is offered in the *form* of the West; after its ideas have passed through the personality of the West. And the curse of the missionary system is the desire to make the converts not only Christians but *English*.

Further signs of the radical separateness of East and West are : (1) The submissiveness of Asia—as opposed to the interrogating and enquiring genius of Europe. The Asiatic considers that which *is* as the will of God, and leaves it to Him to alter. Fatalism which says 'God has no need of human aid.' (2) The mental seclusiveness of the Oriental. He deliberately secludes his mind. He has the instinct of *segregation*—a kind of mental shrinking—the result of ages during which he has been taught that only in segregation can ceremonial purity, and, therefore, the favour of the superior powers, be secured. Hence even access to an Oriental house is difficult to a Western.

In short the fusion of the two continents has never, and may never occur. It is rather a saddening reflection that the thoughts of so many years on the subject may yet be summed up by a great poet in these four lines :

The East bowed low before the blast,  
In patient deep disdain,  
She let the legions thunder past,  
Then plunged in thought again.

25th October, 1905.

At this meeting 29 members were present. It was agreed to offer an Annual Prize for five years of Three Guineas value in Books to the best student or students in Arabic in the University. It was further agreed at this meeting to print a résumé of the Society's *Proceedings* at convenient intervals, and to print the minutes of each meeting. The following papers were read, of which abstracts are given : (1) By Professor Robertson, "Impressions of the Fourteenth

International Oriental Congress at Algiers." (2) By Rev. James Young, B.D., "The Language of Christ." (3) By Rev. D. Kirkwood, B.D., "The Ark of the Covenant."

# IMPRESSIONS OF THE FOURTEENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS AT ALGIERS, APRIL 1905.

BY THE REV. PROF. ROBERTSON, D.D., LL.D.

No attempt is to be made here to give a report of the proceedings which will be published officially. A brief sketch, however, of the various Congresses that have been held since 1873 (including the double *ninth*) is not out of place [sketch given]. Appropriateness of Algiers as a seat of Congress from a historical and archaeological point of view, and its Oriental character. There was a very full representation of native Oriental scholars. Time selected, Easter week, from Tuesday 18th, to Wednesday 26th April; convenient for European savants, who could take advantage of academic holidays, although two of the days were observed as *holy* days on which no sittings took place. Deducting these and various entertainments and excursions, the actual days of meeting for papers were only four in all. What the official papers called *distractions* occupied no little space; an excursion into the Kabyle district on Sunday and Monday; a *vin d'honneur* by the municipality; a ball by the municipality; a banquet to the delegates; a ball by the Governor-General; and a *fête mauresque*. Then there was a lecture on Arabic music, with accompaniments by native musicians, and a lecture on the 'Pilgrimage to Mecca.' Add to these the private or informal reception of the delegates on Tuesday evening, the formal opening, under the presidency of the Governor-General, on Wednesday forenoon, the formal closing of the Congress on the following Wednesday, and two grand excursions to East and West at the close of the Congress, and it will be seen that papers and discussions had to be pressed into very limited space. It was announced, however, that all the papers will be published.

Perhaps the best feature of such a Congress is that it brings into close personal contact specialists from different parts of the world. One renews old acquaintances or makes personal acquaintance of men well known by name; community of interest binds into brotherhood men of different nationality, creed and complexion. As the Governor-General, M. Jonnart, said at the opening: 'Learning has no frontiers.' Even before arriving at Algiers we had a foretaste of this pleasure. One of the first I saw on going aboard the steamer at Marseilles was Professor Driver. In the same boat were also de Goeje of Leyden, one of the oldest members of Oriental Congress; J. C. Euting of Strassbourg, Professor Bendall (Sanskrit

scholar) of Cambridge, and others, the familiar intercourse with whom, under the bright sunshine, and in the cool shade of evening on deck was a feast in itself. Some of us were very good smokers; what more remains to be said? The *réception intime* was a very informal but delightful function, being a simple gathering of the delegates on the evening before the formal opening. After the first confused feeling of being utter strangers, we very soon recognised not a few old friends, and through them, or by self-introduction, made the acquaintance of some new ones. There was Dr. Paul Haupt, whom I had frequently met at Leipzig, some twenty-five years ago when he was studying Assyriology under Professor Friedrich Delitzsch; and Professor Kautzsch, whom I had met at Halle. Professor Burkitt from Cambridge was there, and it was a surprise to find that I had known his wife when she was a little girl in Syria. Professor Browne of Cambridge I met for the first time, and Oriental sympathies had brought also Mrs. Gibb, the widow of the distinguished Turkish scholar. Amid the throng of known and unknown men and women that filled the room, my eyes would turn to the Orientals, mostly in native dress, who, standing singly or in groups, gave character to the gathering. A hazarded remark in Arabic on the temperature of the room was sufficient introduction to a group, and I was instantly welcomed as a brother and borne away on a tide of lively conversation. Not a few of these I had opportunities of conversing with in the days that followed, and I like to remember the keen frank faces and hearty greetings of such men as Abderrahman Mohammed, of Telemesen, ben Cheneb of the Algiers Madrasah (whom I had met two years before), and others. A most delightful gathering, from which we tore ourselves away. Far down the street as we left we heard the hum of many tongues, recalling, not a Babel of confusion, but suggesting rather an intellectual Pentecost, where all were 'of one accord in one place.'

The *séance solennelle*, or formal opening, next day, was not so impressive as it might have been. There was a large enough representation and plenty of speeches, long or short, but for the most part the delegates were left to scramble and shift for themselves; and the manner in which they were called up and received lacked effect. A pity: for there was material for a very effective display. Very much the same might be said of the formal closing on the last Wednesday. There was a combination of various Congresses piled together in the same hall, and a series of long read addresses, which were faithfully reported in the newspapers, but some of which were not well heard. The hall was so crowded and the proceedings so prolonged that the Minister of Instruction who presided had rather an alarming fainting fit, of which, however, the newspapers made no mention; and I think we were all glad to get release. The banquet to the delegates on the preceding day, at which 200 members were present, was less formal and not so prolonged, the speeches being few and very brief.

As to the more serious business : there were seven sections meeting mostly at the same hours. I. India. II. Semitic Languages. III. Mussulman Languages, Arabic, Turkish, Persian. IV. Egypt, African Languages, Madagascar. V. Extreme East. VI. Greece and the East. VII. African Archaeology and Mussulman Art. In Section II., Old Testament scholars were prominent : Kautzsch, Driver, Haupt, D. H. Müller, Merx, Budde, Grimme and others. In Section III. appeared de Goeje, Browne and Basset, and the great majority of the native Muslim scholars. In this section Vollers brought a hornet's nest about his ears with a paper on the literary language and the spoken language of ancient Arabia, in which he denied the claim of the language of the Qorán to be called standard or pure Arabic, maintaining that it was merely a dialectical or local type. The sensibilities of the learned Muslims were keenly touched, and the reader from Oxford, Sheikh Abd-ul-Aziz Chawache protested in excellent English that such a paper should have been submitted to Muslim experts before being publicly read. In this connection it may be mentioned that an Armenian journalist at a later stage sent in a paper asking the Congress to pronounce an opinion as to whether or not the Qorán countenanced such massacres as had taken place in Armenia, but Professor de Goeje declined to receive the paper as certain to lead to polemic. The time seems hardly yet ripe even for a learned Muslim to engage in a dispassionate discussion of his religion, or even of the merits of the language in which it is enshrined.

### LANGUAGE OF CHRIST.

BY REV. JAMES YOUNG, B.D.

FIELD of discussion narrowed down to the question as between Aramaic and Greek, recent scholars being practically agreed that before the time of Christ Hebrew had been superseded as the vernacular of Palestine by Aramaic. Though ceasing to be the vernacular, Hebrew, however, remained the language of sacred literature, and as such a knowledge of it would almost certainly be possessed by Christ.

With Alexander the Great, Aramaic found a rival in Greek, the more formidable as being the official language of the various rulers to whom the Jews were successively subject, and because of the Hellenising policy of these rulers generally. The Maccabean revolt, however, pushed Greek into the background and practically expelled it from the country. Though it had again got a considerable hold by the time of Christ, there is yet nothing to show that it had reached the ascendancy claimed, notably by Dr. Roberts in his *Greek the language of Christ and His Apostles*.

In Christ's time Palestine undoubtedly bilingual—Greek as well as Aramaic being to some extent spoken.

The question, therefore, is, which of these languages did Christ speak, or if He knew and spoke both, which of them did He habitually employ in His teaching? The question in its latter form only calls for consideration. As spoken by some Palestinian Jews, as the predominant language of the representatives of the Gentile world in Palestine and of the Gentile world itself, as also the language of the Septuagint, which had gained considerable popularity, it may reasonably be assumed that Christ would acquire some knowledge of Greek, and be able, at least to some extent, to speak it.

The question, then, of the language habitually used by Christ resolves itself into that of the relative prevalence of Aramaic and Greek in the country at the time.

Such evidence as is available, though meagre, is decisive for Aramaic. It is as follows :

1. *Reported Words of Christ.* Specially the three Aramaic expressions—Mark v. 41, Mark vii. 34, Matt. xxvii. 46=Mark xv. 34,—alone preserved, not because exceptional, but because associated with moments of exceptional emotion on Christ's part.

2. *Book of Acts.* Acts i. 19.—The inhabitants of Jerusalem calling Judas' field in *their own tongue* Akeldama—Akeldama being Aramaic. Acts xxvi. 14.—St. Paul hearing a voice speaking to him in *the Hebrew tongue*; Hebrew being used both in New Testament and Josephus for Aramaic, as *vide* John xix. 13. Acts xxii. 2.—St. Paul addressing the Jerusalemites in Aramaic.

3. *Josephus.* In *Jewish Wars*, v. vi. 3, the Jewish watchmen warn their compatriots of the Roman missiles *in their native tongue*. In vi. ii. 1, Josephus communicates proposals of Titus to the besieged *in their native tongue*. In preface, Josephus tells how that work was at first written in Aramaic and afterwards translated into Greek 'for the sake of such as live under the government of the Romans,' and in the preface to the *Antiquities*, confesses the difficulty he experienced as a Jew in translating 'into a foreign, and to us, unaccustomed language.'

4. *The Targums.* These Aramaic translations or paraphrases of Old Testament Books. Written Targums at first forbidden, and doubtful if the prohibition had fallen into abeyance before the time of Christ. But even though no written Targums till a later date, those extant embody material from a much earlier time, and point conclusively to the prevalence of the practice of translating the Synagogue lessons into Aramaic and therefore to the prevalence of that language as the vernacular. The contention that the Septuagint had become the 'People's Bible' does not rest on sufficient grounds. Though many of Old Testament quotations in New Testament follow Septuagint, even where it differs from the Hebrew, and the fact points to a familiarity with the Septuagint on the part of the writers, yet it does not prove that such familiarity obtained with the people generally.

5. *Aramaic Gospel.* While the labours of recent critical scholars have not conclusively established the existence of such a gospel they have at least made it much less open to question. Of special importance in this connection are Professor Marshall's articles in the *Expositor*, ser. iv., in which he works out the theory that the variant Greek words in parallel passages of the Synoptic Gospels can be traced to one original Aramaic word. The cumulative evidence indicated puts it beyond doubt that to Aramaic belongs the honour of having been the language spoken by Christ.

## THE ARK OF THE COVENANT.

BY REV. DANIEL KIRKWOOD, B.D.

A CRITICISM of article in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, where the view is set forth that in the earliest history of Israel Jehovah was conceived by the popular mind as actually residing in the ark.

(1) This view, it is held, is clearly reflected in two sayings: Num. x. 35. The ark was more than a symbol of the Divine presence; it was, in some sense, the dwelling place of Jehovah.

But in the oldest sources there is nothing to warrant this conclusion. The ark is never described as the dwelling place of Jehovah. The tabernacle, and not the ark, is always spoken of in this way. The ark was the permanent emblem of God's presence. It contained no idol. It is an unnatural view to suppose that it was ever thought of as the abode of Jehovah.

(2) The phrase, '*before the ark of Jehovah*' is not identical with '*before Jehovah*.' The presence of Jehovah was not limited to the spot where the ark was.

(3) The narrative of the taking of the ark by the Philistines (1 Sam. iv.) does not countenance the view that Jehovah was looked upon as living in the ark. The people regarded the loss of the ark as a great national calamity, but they did not think they had lost their God at the same time.

(4) *David's View of the Ark* (2 Sam. xv. 25). David did not say it was the habitation of God. He was referring there to the tabernacle. He believed he would have God's presence, even though the ark was left behind. His conception of God (2 Sam. vii. 2, and Ps. xviii.) is lofty and spiritual.

Compare Solomon's conception of God as dwelling in heaven (1 Kings viii.). Even at the lowest stage in their religious development, Israel did not believe that God actually resided in the ark. Their great men never held so crude a view, and it cannot be shown that the common people thought so either. The attempt to reduce the religious conceptions of the early Hebrews to the low level of heathen superstition is a failure.



25th April, 1906.

Twenty-five members were present at this meeting, and the following papers were read: (1) By Rev. J. Cromarty Smith, B.D., "Intercessory Prayer in the Old Testament." (2) By Rev. R. Kilgour, B.D. of Darjeeling, "Rendering of Old Testament Names into Hindi and cognate languages." (3) By Rev. W. Tait, B.D., of Salonica, "Notes from Salonica." Mr Tait's paper has been included in the *Megillah*.

### INTERCESSION IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY REV. J. CROMARTY SMITH, B.D.

IN view of the claim of the religion of Israel to a truer knowledge of God than was vouchsafed to other peoples, we are warranted in looking to the Old Testament for the highest development of prayer that can be found anywhere outside the Christian revelation.

The highest development of prayer is Intercession, for it is when prayer takes the form of petition for others that the suppliant shows those qualities of love and pity that bring man most into accord with the mind and will of God. It is under the Christian dispensation that Intercession has been developed as a distinctive element in prayer. Intercession is characteristically Christian. But in the religion of Israel, as being the preparation for Christianity, we should expect to find at least some adumbration of this distinctively Christian element in prayer. And our expectation is not in vain.

There is no word in Hebrew that bears the specific meaning of Intercession. The words used in the Old Testament for the act of intercessory prayer are those that are used for prayer in general. At the same time it is to be remembered that, though Intercession is a characteristically Christian thing, there is no word in the New Testament that exclusively denotes Intercession. But, though no special word is assigned to it, the thing itself is found in the Old Testament.

The commonest form of Intercession, perhaps, is prayer for the nation, its rulers and its people, for defence against its foes and for relief from national troubles. Prayers of this kind are to be found in almost every book of the Old Testament.

But a higher kind of Intercession than this is when prayer is offered for those who may be regarded as having no special claim on the suppliant. Prayer for the nation, for instance, is really (though the suppliant may not so intend it) prayer for oneself along with others.

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The most perfect kind of Intercession is when the suppliant stands apart, as it were, from those for whom he prays. This, of course, is only in so far as any man can regard his interests as apart from those of others, for all are 'bound in the bundle of life.' What we mean is prayer for those with whose interests the interests of the suppliant are not immediately identified. This is the highest and most ideal form of intercessory prayer. We find it in the Old Testament, and therefore in this, as in other ways, the Old Testament is a foreshadowing of the New.

Note, by way of example, Abraham's prayer for Sodom, and his prayer for Abimelech, the prayers of Moses for Pharaoh, and, very specially, his prayer for the pardon of the people (Ex. 32<sup>32</sup>), Samuel's unselfish promise of prayer for the people over whom he was no longer to rule, and also his prayer for Saul in the case of Amalek. There are also some of the prayers of Elijah and Elisha. Special note may be made of the prayer of Job for his friends. Other examples of what we may call unselfish, and therefore true intercessory, prayer will readily occur. The Patriarchal blessings may almost be classed as intercessory prayers.

Intercession appears to have been the function of the prophet rather than of the priest (see Jer. 15<sup>1</sup>. and Ezek. 14<sup>14</sup>). It is the prophet, not the priest, who intercedes with God to turn away predicted, or to remove present, evils from the nation.

## OLD TESTAMENT NAMES FOR GOD: THEIR RENDERING INTO HINDI AND COGNATE LANGUAGES.

### *A Plea for the Transliteration of the Sacred Name.*

BY REV. ROBERT KILGOUR, B.D.

ONE of the most difficult questions in the translation of the Bible into another language is that of the choice of the proper term to be used for God. In the Old Testament this difficulty is increased by reason of the special character of the words in the original. Two classes of names—I. *General Names*; II. *The Personal Name*.

I. *The General Names.* For Elohim and El I would use *Iswar*, a Hindi word meaning Deity. For El Shaddai I prefer *Sarbsahliwan Iswar* (the All Mighty God); and for El Elyon *Param Iswar* (used as two separate words), the Most-High God.

II. *The Personal Name.* YHWH occurs 7,000 times in the Old Testament, is rendered in English by LORD in capital numbers and occasionally by GOD also in caps. Four times the A.V. retains the name in form JEHOVAH. Jewish literalism alone explains the Adonai (and hence LORD) in place of Sacred Tetragrammaton. Most translations, the Syriac, the LXX, the Vulgate, our A.V. and R.V. (but not the American R.V.,

which gives Jehovah) give a translation of Adonai. The present Hindi gives a word meaning God. The Revised Hindi translation, and my predecessor in Nepali translation, Rev. A. Turnbull, B.D., in his Genesis, give the form *Yahowā*. The Bengali has *Sadaprabhu*, a coined word said to give idea of eternal and self-existent Lord.

The question arises, ought we in our translations into Indian languages to continue the Jewish usage and translate a substituted word, or ought we to make an attempt to render the Divine Name as near as we can to the original? From Scripture (especially Exodus iii. 14, and vi. 3, where God is represented revealing this name at a critical period of history of the Chosen People) and from our knowledge of Hebrew language and Jewish History (see especially Professor Robertson's *Early Religion of Israel*, Davidson in article 'God' in *Hastings' Dictionary*, Spurrill on *Genesis*, and Driver's *Commentary on Genesis*) we conclude that YHWH is the distinctive proper name of God as personally related to man, entering into covenant relationship with His people; and that this name was intended to convey a special significance. We do not translate other proper names (except in the margin where necessary to complete sense) and why this one?

The principal objections to transliteration are: (1) the conservatism which dislikes change, especially after centuries of LORD in various versions; (2) the fact that scholars are not yet agreed upon the proper pronunciation of YHWH; (3) the fact that this proper name may be taken by Indian readers as name of merely a tribal God.

In answer (1) we may note that our Indian readers have nothing to unlearn either of translation or of mistaken transliteration; (2) scholars are at least agreed that this is a proper name, that Jehovah is incorrect, and generally that Yahweh is nearest, if not actually, correct; (3) a translation of the Holy Scriptures with a new proper name for God will itself soon answer any tribal idea, and the fact that the name is *new* will help to give new ideas to the term—this is specially true in India.

The alternative to transliteration in some form is translation, and the Hindi word *Prabhu* has come through practically the same history as our word Lord. It is argued that *Prabhu* would retain in the New Testament the same word in quotation from the Old (but this is a minor consideration, cf. LXX and New Testament); and that it is already in use amongst non-Christians as a term for their Gods (which is not an argument of much force), and that the Christians already use it. But Christians use it specially of Christ, their knowledge of the Old Testament is still in its infancy; so they have practically nothing to unlearn. The objection to translation is that it makes no attempt to give the Divine Name at all, or in any way retain the special meaning of YHWH. It has been urged that we might print *Prabhu* in special type. I answer that even LORD in caps is unnoticed by most twentieth century Christian readers; and further, printing in special type gives no help to

the hearer, most Indian Christians are uneducated, and will have to depend on listening to the read word for some time.

It is argued that the form Yahweh is strange. Possibly it is to English readers who are accustomed to Jehovah, but Indians are not yet accustomed to any form. Why not give them the correct one. We do not hesitate to give them Dawad, Yusaph, Patrus, Yuhanne, Yakub. Why not Yahweh? Yahweh is easily transliterated into Hindi. For all these reasons, and above all, to try and retain the special message of this Divinely given Proper Name, let us transliterate, not translate, and preferably let us transliterate in the form most accepted by modern scholars—the form Yahweh.

NOTE.—This Paper has since been printed at Darjeeling, 1907.

31st October, 1906.

At this meeting 25 members were present, and the following papers were read, of which abstracts are given : (1) By Rev. Dr. Thomson, "Was the Aramaic of Daniel originally Western?" (2) By Rev. And. Baird, B.D., "Jesus and the Prophets." (3) By Professor Robertson, "Notes on Recent Literature."

### WAS THE ARAMAIC OF DANIEL ORIGINALLY EASTERN OR WESTERN?

By REV. J. E. H. THOMSON, D.D.

THE most prominent difference between Eastern and Western Aramaic is that while the preformative of the 3rd per. sing. and pl. of the impf. was in Western 'yodh as in Heb., in Eastern it was נ *nun*; and in the Mandaean variety sometimes, especially in regard to the substantive verb, ל *lamed*. Although in the great majority of instances the Aramaic of Daniel follows the Western usage in every case the substantive verb in the 3rd per. impf. assumes the Mandaean preformative. Bevan's explanation that *lamed* was used to avoid a collocation of letters fitted to suggest יידיש fails to explain why the Targumists have no such scruples, or why the *lamed* appears in the 3rd pl. in which there is no suggestion of the Divine name. There are in Daniel other Mandaean forms. Nöldeke (*Mandaean Gram.*, p. 75) says: 'The Mandaean likes to replace a doubled consonant by a *nun* and a single consonant.' Of this there are many instances in the Aramaic of Daniel. It may be noted

there are none in the Targum of Onkelos, or in that of Jonathan ben Uzziel. Further, when we compare the *Qri* with the *K'thib* we find, almost invariably, that while the form to be 'read' was Western, the form to be 'written' was Eastern. Yet again there are one or two instances in which the LXX has mistakes in translation that are most easily explained on the supposition that the translator had a MS. before him which had Eastern peculiarities, e.g. the *nun* preformative. In the case of the opening verses of Chap. V. the confusion in the LXX seems to have been occasioned by the scribe taking the Eastern *qubal* 'feast' for the prep. com. to East and West *q'bel* 'before' (later *qubal*), and mistaking the Eastern *bal* 'heart' for the first syllable of king Belshazzar's name. Further there is the case of *sumphonia* (Dan. iii. 5, 10, 15, the word is omitted from the 7th verse and in the 10th the *K'thib* reads *siphonia*), in the Peshitta this word appears as *tsiphonia*. This latter form cannot be derived from *sumphonia* because the softer letter *Ṣ samech* flows more naturally from *Ṣ tsadi* the harder, than the harder from the softer. Moreover, it is difficult to explain *siphonia* on the supposition that *sumphonia* is the original form; that the *u* of the first syllable should become *i* is not impossible, nor that the *m* should be dropped, but this double process implies something to be gained. A word is often modified in passing from one language or dialect to another when a meaning can be given to it by the change; to the Jews of the Maccabean times living among Greeks *sumphonia* had a meaning, and a meaning cognate to the circumstances, on the other hand *siphonia* had no musical connotation; if it meant anything, it meant in Greek, 'small fire-engines.' There was thus no conceivable reason why the change to *siphonia* should be made. On the other hand, if the original word was *tsiphonia*—a word without meaning in Western Aramaic—to turn it into *siphonia*, a word that seemed to have a meaning in Greek—a language with which most were familiar—was natural. The change was yet easier and more natural to *sumphonia*, as it had a distinctly musical meaning in Greek. There are besides not a few words that are not used in Western Aramaic out of Daniel.

Another matter also has to be considered. In the Targums *ʔ* *yath* the sign of the accusative is frequent; in Gen. i. it occurs eighteen times in the Targum of Onkelos; so also in the Samaritan Targum. In the Peshitta version of the same chapter it only appears twice. It only occurs once in the Aramaic of Daniel, and then supporting the oblique case of a pronoun. Daniel thus follows Eastern Aramaic in syntax as well as in accidence and vocabulary.

The presence of these Eastern Aramaic forms may be explained in two ways: either they have been inserted into the text to give local colour, or they are survivals from a state of the text when they were much more numerous. The former alternative regards the book of Daniel as a novel, and it finds its analogue in the work of an American or English novelist

who has laid the scene of his tale in Scotland; to give local colour he would introduce Scotch words and phrases. This hypothesis implies that literary criticism was much more advanced in the days of the Maccabees than it was for nearly a couple of millennia later. The rhetorician who in the third century of our era composed the so-called epistles of Phalaris, though these were supposed to be written by a Dorian from a Dorian city, wrote them in pure Attic Greek. Is it likely that a Palestinian Jew living three centuries earlier would introduce Syriacisms into a work the purpose of which was to encourage his countrymen to revolt against the Greeks—characteristics that would not be understood by his public, and therefore would dull the edge of his appeal, rather than accentuate it? The analogue of the other alternative may be found in Scotch songs published in England. The tendency in such cases is to remove every Scotch feature except such as are protected in some special way, as by rhyme or by being regarded familiarly as the sign of Scotticism. There is an almost perfect parallel in the Homeric poems. The ballads from which these poems were compiled originated in the earlier Achaea of Northern Greece in which the Aeolic dialect was spoken. This is proved from the fact that wherever the exigences of metre rendered it impossible to replace the Aeolic word by its Ionic equivalent there the Aeolic word appears. Sung in Ionia to Ionic audiences the poems were Ionised, but, though Ionised, they yet showed traces of their origin. Daniel written in Eastern Aramaic gradually became occidentalised to suit the Palestinian public by whom it was now perused. The Western scribes would naturally drift into replacing Eastern by Western forms.

### JESUS AND THE PROPHETS.

BY REV. ANDREW BAIRD, B.D.

THE attitude towards the Old Testament in these days has largely changed. Never have the words of the prophets been examined so frankly and fearlessly, critically and historically.

The mechanical interpretation of the Divine working, lacking continuity and content, has given place to the recognition of God's revelation of Himself in the history of Israel and the world, realising the Old Testament does not merely contain prophecies but is in itself prophecy, the work of the prophets, as a whole, being one great factor in God's revelation of Himself to Israel, the testimony of Jesus 'the Spirit of prophecy.'

Pre-eminently men of their time, men of the people, speaking their language, and preachers of righteousness, the prophets summoned men to repentance by the goodness and severity of God, and strove to bring human lives into harmony with that will.

As regards the past, they are historians of Israel, as regards the future, they are the appointed heralds of the Divine purpose to Israel, and through Israel for the world, foreshadowing the ideal realised in Jesus.

In Jesus Christ they meet 'a prophet and more than a prophet,' who brings in the kingdom of grace, the Man of Sorrows who wins the heart by suffering love.

Jesus goes back to the ancient prophets, illustrates their terms and language, fulfils in spirit and purpose their exalted ideals. His nearest relation to the Old Testament prophets has been characterised as that of succession, His call, the true prophetic call, His inspiration, prophetic type of inspiration in the highest sense.

His opening message in His ministry is prophetic, He refers to Himself as a prophet, and in method and manner many points of similarity can be traced between Him and those who preceded Him.

For example, in His preaching and teaching, like the true prophets, His whole public ministry is that of ceaseless and deadly conflict with counterfeit righteousness.

Like them, He sets chief place on the ethical, compared to mere ritual, and fulfils law and prophecy in love to God and man.

He is at one with them in His universalism.

Regarding our Lord's choice and use of prophecy, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Micah, Zechariah, Malachi, Daniel, Hosea and Psalms present a very large proportion of citations.

Of direct quotations some are found in the three Synoptists, some in Mark and Matthew, some in one Gospel alone, passages and words chosen on the ground of spiritual relationship.

Of the Old Testament figures of speech for illustrative and homiletic purposes, one may select the parable of the mustard seed and compare it with the Aramaic of Dan. iv. 9.

Example of composite quotation, the Temple cleansing common to the Synoptists, with the passages in Isaiah, 'My house, a house of prayer shall be called for all the nations,' prophetic universalism, and Jeremiah standing at the temple gate upbraiding sinners, 'Has this house in which My name is called become in your eyes a den of robbers,' emphasis being on moral character. Compare Mark xi.: 'Is it not written, But My House, a House of Prayer shall be called for all nations, but ye have made it a den of robbers.'

Of free use and adaptation of prophetic language the divided households. Compare the words of Micah, of the son despising the father, the daughter against her mother, etc., with Mark xiii. 12; Matt. x. 35, 36; Luke xii. 52, 53.

Many prophetic phrases, terms, figures and language are found in the sayings and teachings of Jesus, *ἔπεα πτερόεντα*, winged on pinions of light, spiritual in character, infinite in their eternal outreach and suggestion. "*μέγας ἐν τούτοις θεός, οὐδὲ γηράσκει.*"

In terms pictorial, popular, epigrammatic and didactic, activities of mind and heart are quickened to seek for the Truth, the Pearl of great price.

The Old Testament had for Jesus abiding intrinsic value from His study of it, His use of it, His fulfilment of it, the Divine and Infallible Teacher, the Healer and Pardoner of Sin, 'able to save unto the uttermost them that come unto God by Him.'

In the words of Dr. Macfarland, 'Our Lord fulfilled the prophets in that He succeeded to their work, took up and illumined their ideals and in His own person and life set them in living words before the eyes of men, and it is only when we see prophecy thus fulfilled that prophecy itself reveals its significance and becomes fully intelligible. The ruling prophetic idea of the establishment of the Kingdom of God in the world was realized in the Kingdom of our Lord.

'That Kingdom, as the prophets had foreseen and declared, starting within Israel, has gone out through all the earth to every nation.

'In the largest sense, Christ was in the Old Testament and in the prophets. Christ was there in so far as we find His Spirit there.

'The revelation of God, set forth by prophetic tongue and pen, increasing in illumination and power from age to age was completed in our Lord, "in whom dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily."

## NOTES ON RECENT LITERATURE.

(1) *Hebrew Literature*. (a) Prospectus of a new edition of the *Hebrew Pentateuch of the Samaritans*, edited by Dr. A. Frh. von Gall (pub. Töpelmann). The editor has been led by an extensive collation to conclude that the existing MSS. of the *Heb. Sam. Pent.* go back to one archetype (as in the case of *Mass. Text*); but it is very doubtful if the sacred roll in Shechem is the original. Accordingly he proposes (without making a complete inventory of all existing MSS.) to attempt a restoration of the Hebrew Text—to be printed in Hebrew letters. (b) The first part has appeared of a work projected by Wünsche and others, under the general title *Monumenta Judaica*. The prospectus is very wide; but the first part of the work is somewhat definite, viz. *Bibliotheca Targumica*. It begins with Targums on the Pentateuch, and naturally Onkelos comes first. After a dissertation on Oral Tradition, the text and German translation are given in parallel columns. The text, however, is not in Hebrew characters (to save expense) but in Roman type, in a transcription as close as possible of the vocalized text: the result being a curious system of typography, which has been rather sharply criticised. (c) Another prospectus, with a few specimen pages, comes from New York. This is a translation into English, with annotations, of the *Midrash Rabba*. The undertaking



deserves encouragement, but the translator, Lazarus Shapiro, apparently has not had much literary training. The translation is good, the notes interesting, but the literary form is curious. (d) The publishing house of Mohr in Tübingen is sending out at a cheap price (1 Mark to 1'50) a selected series of Treatises from the *Mishna*, in German translation, without text. There are to be nine in all: *Joma*, *Aboth*, *Berachoth*, are already out, to be followed by *Aboda Zara*, *Shabbath*, *Sanhedrin*, *Megillah*, *Pesachim* and *Nedarim*.

(2) *Islamic Literature*. Of late years there has been a notable activity in this department, not only among European scholars, but in the native Presses. The enterprising publisher, Rudolf Haupt, of Halle, whose catalogues exhibit this activity, announces his intention to make the native literature more accessible to wider circles, by publishing a series of outstanding works in separate sets, so that students of comparative religion, theologians and historians may at first hand become acquainted with what the best minds in Islam have done, and understand better the position of Islam in the modern world. In his prospectus he takes a survey of the different parts of the wide field to be explored, mentioning some of the works that have already been published, e.g. a second edition of the notable work of Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthum aufgenommen*. Particularly the region of philosophy and of what may be called the inner history of Islam requires to be examined. German scholars have of late shown more interest in these researches, and the German Emperor and Government have given substantial encouragement. Haupt does not, however, give sufficient credit to scholars outside of Germany. Though he mentions de Boer's *Sketch of the Philosophy*, he makes no mention of D. B. Macdonald's work, nor of Weir's book on the *Sheikhs of Morocco*. More serious is his omission of the labours of French scholars, which are extensive and valuable; and it may be well here to draw attention to some of these. (a) *L'Islam, Impressions et Etudes*, par le Comte Henry de Castries (Paris, 1896): one of the best books I have ever seen on the subject; not controversial, but an impartial enquiry into the secret of the great success of Islam in the world. There is a most interesting chapter vi. on the modern expansion of the religion in Central Africa; and there are valuable appendices containing some documents little accessible. (b) *L'Islamisme*, par O. Houdas (Paris, 1904): written by one who knows the subject well, and in eighteen brief chapters presents in terse and limpid style just such subjects as the ordinary educated reader is interested to know; among other things a most valuable summary on Religious Brotherhoods and Marabouts. (c) On this last mentioned branch of the subject there are several excellent works in French. What is said to be the best is *Les Confréries Religieuses musulmanes* (1 vol. 4to, 25 francs), by Depont and Coppolani. There is also *Marabouts et Khouan* by Louis Rinn (Algiers, 1884), a large book containing valuable matter (not so well arranged as it might have been),

and a map showing the ramifications of these brotherhoods. An excellent little book, not very easily attainable, is *Les Marabouts*, by Doutté.

(3) *Books on Morocco*. During the seventy-five years of occupation of Algeria the French Government, through civil and military officials and by commercial intercourse and adventures of travellers, have gained much acquaintance with this little-known country. Some of the books of value may be mentioned. (a) *Le Maroc Inconnu*, by Auguste Moulières, 'the result of twenty-two years' exploration in this mysterious country, from 1872 to 1893.' There are two volumes: written in a pleasant chatty style, giving graphic accounts, sometimes amusing, of his travels and adventures, scraps of folk-lore, and much detailed information about the several tribes. The author has a pretty wit, his passage on the difficulties of the Arabic language being exquisite. He concludes that the secrets of Morocco will never be known till either of two things happens, either a European power makes the conquest of the country, or future explorers definitely make up their minds to learn the language decently, and opines that the former supposition will be realised before the latter. (b) Not inferior to the preceding is *Voyages au Maroc*, 1899-1901, par le Marquis de Segonzac, a work greatly and justly appreciated by the French press. It has a Preface by M. Eug. Étienne, Deputy of Oran and Vice-President of the Chamber of Deputies, stating, what the author's modesty did not allow him to enlarge upon, the difficulties under which M. Segonzac obtained the valuable information contained in the book. Travelling sometimes as a beggar from mosque to mosque, and living on alms, at other times acting as the servant of a Sheriff and treated as a menial, he traverses three times the middle Atlas, explores the unknown part of the Rif, visits as a devout pilgrim the various *zawias* or sanctuaries of Islam, and, incredible as it may seem, contrives to take photographs, make plans of the country, and bring away specimens of natural history, and in his book has given a most graphic picture of this unknown land. (c) *Le Maroc d'Aujourd'hui* by Eugene Aubin (Paris, 1905), is the work of a journalist, who makes no claim to know Arabic, but who contrived to get access to the best-informed people and has put down in a racy style a great deal of interesting matter on the history, constitution and social condition of the country. It is up to date. (d) *L'Affaire Marocaine* by Victor Bérard (Paris, 1906), embraces more than the title suggests. It is mainly historical. The author's conclusion is that though he has lived for years in Cairo and Constantinople, and travelled over the most of the Muslim world, he has 'nowhere met anything that resembled Morocco,' and that he 'had everything to learn on entering the extreme west of Islam.' (e) *Le Maroc Pittoresque*, by Jean de Taillia, an entertaining book, true to its title, being full of pictures from photographs, one of which represents the triumphal entry of the Kaiser into Tangier, and another a photograph of the Sultan of Morocco taken by the author himself. (f) Other books exhibited can only be mentioned: *L'Algérie* by Maurice

Wahl, 4<sup>e</sup> ed., 1903, a standard book, full of valuable matter. *La question indigène en Algérie*, 1901, deals with provisions made for the treatment, education, etc., of natives, matters of Administration, Marabouts, etc. *L'Algérie d'Aujourd'hui*, by Castéran, 1905, a book approved and supported by the Government, quasi official, presents the most favourable and hopeful view. *La vérité sur l'Algérie*, by Jean Hess, professes to give the other side of the picture, strongly antisemitic and rather nasty. *La France en Afrique*, by Edmund Ferry, the motto of which is 'It is above all by its African Empire that France is assured of remaining a world power.' *Dans l'Ombre Chaude de l'Islam*, by Isabella Eberhardt, is fully noticed in a 'Megillah,' No. xxiv.

## APPENDIX I.

### THE "MEGILLAH" OR FLYING ROLL.

List of Contributors to the "Megillah," indicated by their initials in the Index.

H. Y. A. -	Rev. Hugh Young Arnott, B.D., Newburgh-on-Tay.
P. H. A. -	Rev. Patrick H. Aitken, B.D., Glasgow.
A. B. -	Rev. Andrew Baird, B.D., Broughton.
J. R. B. -	Mr. James R. Buchanan, M.A., Paisley.
J. W. B. -	Rev. James W. Baird, B.D., Dunfermline.
G. C. -	Rev. George Condie, B.D., Stepps.
J. C. -	Rev. John Campbell, B.D., Monquitter.
H. D. -	Rev. Hugh Duncan, B.D., Garturk.
W. E. -	Rev. William Ewing, M.A., Edinburgh.
W. W. F. -	Rev. William W. Fulton, B.D., Glasgow.
F. G. G. -	Rev. Francis G. Geddes, B.D., Condorrat.
G. G. -	Gavin Greenlees, Esq., Glasgow.
A. R. S. K. -	Rev. Professor Kennedy, D.D., Edinburgh.
J. L. -	Rev. James Lindsay, D.D., Kilmarnock.
A. M. -	Rev. Andrew Macfarlane, B.D., India.
C. S. M. -	Rev. Charles S. Macalpine, B.D., Manchester.
D. B. M. -	Rev. Professor Macdonald, B.D., Hartford, Conn., U.S.
D. S. M. -	Rev. David S. Merrow, B.D., Larbert.
E. M. M. -	Rev. Ewen M. Macgregor, M.A., Glenapp.
J. Ma. -	Rev. John Mack, B.D., Inch.
J. Mi. -	Rev. James Millar, B.D., New Cumnock.
J. Mu. -	Rev. John Muir, B.D., Kirkcovan.
P. M. -	Rev. Peter Melville, B.D., Rendall, Orkney.
W. J. S. M. -	Rev. William J. S. Miller, B.D., Houndwood.
J. M'G. -	Rev. John M'Gilchrist, B.D., Skelmorlie.
J. H. P. -	Rev. John H. Pagan, B.D., South Africa.
R. B. P. -	Rev. Robert B. Pattie, B.D., Glasgow.
J. R. -	Rev. Professor Robertson, D.D., Glasgow.
J. E. H. T. -	Rev. John E. H. Thomson, D.D., Edinburgh.
A. C. W. -	Rev. A. Cameron Watson, B.D., St. Boswells.
T. H. W. -	Rev. Thomas H. Weir, B.D., Glasgow.
J. Y. -	Rev. James Young, B.D., Paisley.

### INDEX TO ARTICLES.

*Note.*—The Roman numerals denote the Part, the ordinary numerals the page.

Abbreviations in the pre-Masoretic Text, J. R., iv. 19.	Algeria, Education in, T. H. W., xiii. 24.
Aberrations of a Hebrew Particle, by a Country Member, xxi. 17.	Algiers, A Friday in, T. H. W., xiv. 3.
Abraham men. See Etymological.	Amos, Idea of God in book of, H. Y. A., x. 40.
Abu Zayd of Sarāj, J. R. B., xx. 19.	An Adventurous Soul, Isabelle Eberhardt, with two illustrations, J. R., xxiv. 28.
Adon 'Olam and some of its Versions, with portrait of Zangwill, J. W. B., x. 18.	

- Antiphrastic Words in Semitic (Landan), J. R., xiii. 28.
- Arabia, The Jews in (from Andrée), W. W. F., xii. 4.
- Arabia, Poetry of, and the Ballad Problem, D. B. M., xxii. 24.
- Arabia, Jews and Christians in (from Wellhausen), D. S. M., ix. 7.
- Arabian Nights, On Translating the, D. B. M., ii. 19.
- Asseveration. See Waw.
- Assyriology, Plea for the Study of (a cutting), G. G., i. 4. See Cuneiform.
- Babylonia, Discoveries from (cutting), C. S. M., ix. 41.
- Babylonian Bricks, On Certain, with illustrations, J. E. H. T., xxi. 13.
- Barnabas, Gospel of (by Dr. Youngson, a cutting), xx. 28.
- Bedlam. See Etymological.
- Ben Zion. See Nugae.
- Bohemian Scholar, W. A. Clouston (cutting from George Eyre-Todd), with Reminiscences by J. R., xi. 17, 20.
- Bookbinder of Hort (translation from Sacher Massoch), with illustrations, J. R., vi. 17.
- Books, Of. From the Al-Fakhri, T. H. W., xviii. 36.
- British Jews and Queen Victoria (cutting), vii. 44.
- Brotherhood. See Sacrament.
- Calendar, Egyptian, for 1900-1901, J. Ma., xv. 13.
- Caste System, Defence of (cutting from *Saint Andrew*), ii. 40.
- Chaldee Verse in Jer. x. 11; J. Y., vi. 43, and J. E. H. T., viii. 38.
- Clouston, W. A. See Bohemian.
- Cock Crowing, J. R., ii. 31.
- Consecrated Warriors (a quotation from Steevens), ii. 43.
- Cosmogony, Muslim (from Al-Thalabi), A. M. and T. H. W., xv. 2.
- Criticism, Conservative Reaction in, with portraits, E. M. M., xi. 24.
- Cuneiform Lore, Why I thought of, vi. 4; How it was revealed, viii. 4; Some Notes on, xii. 12, G. G. See Assyriology.
- Dalman. See Palästinische.
- δαρικάδς. See [?].
- Dillman, with portrait, C. S. M., vii. 32.
- Dutch. See Phonetic.
- Eberhardt, Isabelle, with portraits, xxiv. 28.
- Egypt, Recent Discoveries (cutting from *Glasgow Herald*), i. 42.
- Encyclopaedia, Jewish. See Talmud.
- English Bible, The Story of, J. H. P., xx. 32, xxi. 33.
- Epitaph on the Tomb of Sultan Al-Ghalib, T. H. W., xv. 44.
- Etymological Curiosities, Galimathias, Young Shaver, Bedlam, Abraham men, J. R., xiii. 40.
- Ewald, by T. Witton Davies (cutting), with portrait, xvi. 28.
- Feast, The Great, T. H. W., iv. 13.
- "For Emulation," Johns Hopkins Seminary, viii. 2. See Semitic Studies.
- Freeman's View of Mohammed and his Creed, A. M., viii. 15.
- Galimathias. See Etymological.
- Germany through Baptist Eyes, by T. Witton Davies (cutting), xviii. 32.
- Ghalib. See Epitaph.
- "Give" and "Take," a modern story, J. R., xviii. 27.
- Graven Images, Jewish (cutting), H. D., xx. 15.
- G.U.A.S. Meeting of 17th Oct. 1900, J. R., ii. 4.
- G.U.A.S. "Before and After" Celebration of the Majority of the Society, J. R., vii. 2.
- Haman and Mordecai in Janow (from *Ost und West*), J. R., xxiv. 3.
- Hammurabi's Code (cutting), M. B., xiv. 41.
- Hasmonean Times, Life and Religion in the, J. C., xi. 32.
- Horse, The responsible Editor's, with illustrations, by Office Boy, xii. 2.
- Hosea, Some notes on the book of, J. R., xv. 30.
- House of Wisdom (cutting from Boscauwen), C. S. M., ix. 41.
- Indian Alnaschar (*T. P's Weekly*), F. G. G., xxi. 29.
- Isaiah xi. 7 (Dr. Ben Zion), ix. 37.
- Islam and Arabic (from Hartmann), W. E., vii. 4. See Wellhausen.
- Islands of the Blest (*Hommel*), with illustrations, J. W. B., xiv. 13.
- Ismail, Sultan of Morocco, T. H. W., xvii. 36.

- Jeremiah, The Greek translation of (Thackeray, in *Journal of Theolog. Studies*), J. R., xvi. 21.
- Jer. x. 11. See Chaldaes.
- Jewish Controversy in the Middle Ages (extract from the Shebhet Jehuda), J. R., xvii. 27.
- Jewish Rabbi as Sherlock Holmes, H. D., viii. 29.
- Jewish Sherlock Holmes, Another, W. J. S. M., xxi. 3.
- Jewish Superstitions (from Berliner), J. M., vii. 15.
- Jewish "Wit," A (from Sacher Masoch), with illustrations, J. R., xii. 41.
- Johns Hopkins. See Semitic Studies.
- Judah Hallevi's Kitāb al Khazari (cutting), xxii. 48.
- Kamphausen and the O.T., P. H. A., viii. 26.
- ῥ used δευτεριῶς, J. R., ii. 44.
- Ladies of Mena's Court (cutting), M. B., ix. 35.
- Lamiyat al Ajam, T. H. W., xxi. 37.
- Lamiyat al Arab, T. H. W., xx. 37.
- Latin Wedding at Jerusalem (from Pierotti), A. B., ix. 29.
- Learning, Exhortation to (from Zamachshari), T. H. W., xxi. 46.
- Life as a Summer Day, paraphrase from Mutanebbi, by Dr. Mackie, Beyrout, viii. 41.
- "Little ones" and "their Angels," J. R., xxii. 41.
- Luther's Hebrew Bible (with *fac-simile*), J. R., xi. 3, 42.
- Marabout, The name, with illustrations, J. R., vi. 38.
- Marranos, The, with portrait of Nordau, J. R., xvi. 3.
- Marriage Broker in London (cutting), with editorial annotations and illustrations, H. D., xvi. 8.
- Marriages made in heaven (from *Jewish Quarterly Review*), G. C., xiv. 24.
- Mena. See Ladies.
- Midnight Encounter, A, J. R., xxiii. 31.
- Midrash on Korah, from Yalkut Shim'oni, J. R., xviii. 19.
- Miscellany (cutting), C. S. M., xx. 31.
- Mohammed. See Freeman.
- Morocco. See Sheikh, Ismail.
- Music, Nature of Hebrew (with edit. note), J. M., iii. 16.
- Mutanebbi. See Life.
- Muthill woman an Empress, xxii. 14.
- Muwatta, The, T. H. W., xvi. 37.
- Napoleon's Invasion of Egypt, H. D., xxii. 3.
- Nugae Hebraicae (from Dr. Ben Zion), J. R., ix. 37.
- Open Sesamé, J. R., xxii. 17.
- Oriental Languages, Teaching of on Continent, A. R. S. K., iii. 37.
- Outwitting a Tiger (*T. P.'s Weekly*), F. G. G., xxi. 29.
- Palestine, Legend of origin of modern population of (from *Pal. Expl. Report*), xvii. 9.
- Palestine and Revelation, W. E., xvii. 16.
- Palästiniſche Diwan, Dalman's, W. E., x. 27.
- Papyrus. See Pre-Masoretic.
- Particle. See Aberrations.
- Persian Anecdotes (from E. G. Browne), J. M., xiii. 14.
- Perthshire Romance, a Muthill woman an Empress (cutting from *Dundee News*), xxii. 14.
- Perquisites of the Priest, a modern Eastern story, J. R., xviii. 26.
- Pharaohs, Old Testament (Flinders Petrie), M. B., xxii. 36.
- Philosophy, Plea for study of Oriental, J. L., ix. 15.
- Phonetic Coincidences, Dutch and Hebrew, J. R., ix. 44.
- Photography in the University, with illustrations, J. R., iv. 37.
- Pilgrimage to Marabout Zine (translation from the French), with illustrations, W. W. F. and T. H. W., xxiv. 15.
- Poetry, Hebrew, P. M., xiii. 4.
- Poetry. See Arabia.
- Pre-Masoretic Hebrew Papyrus, A (extract), J. R., xv. 42, xviii. 12.
- Priest. See Perquisites.
- Proverb. See Talmudic.
- Proverbs, Armenian (from Lennep), J. W. B., v. 27.
- Proverbs, Somemodern Jewish (Segel), J. R., xviii. 41.
- Prov. xvii. 28 (Dr. Ben Zion), ix. 37.
- Psalms. See Wellhausen.
- Psalms xvi. 11, "At thy right hand," C. S. M., ix. 27.
- Psalms xviii., Rhythmical Analysis of, R. B. P., x. 4.

- Psalm lxxviii. 9 (8), Note on the LXX, rendering of, J. E. H. T., with editorial note, xvi. 13.
- Reckoning of Time and Festivals among the Jews (from Andrée), W. W. F., ix. 4.
- Recompense, The Law of. An Eastern story, J. R., xii. 3.
- Rolls of the Law in the University of Glasgow, J. R., i. 6.
- Sacrament of Brotherhood (extract from Hamlin), J. R., viii. 42.
- Sacrament of Brotherhood, J. C., xxii. 12.
- Samaritan Pentateuch, Age of, J. E. H. T., iii. 4.
- Samson Myth (Steinthal), W. J. S. M., xi. 4.
- Scripture, Muslim Doctrine of, J. R., xxii. 28.
- Seller of Shoes, T. H. W., iv. 5.
- Semitic Studies at the Johns Hopkins University (cutting), vi. 14. See "For Emulation."
- Semitic Worship, Early (Flinders Petrie, a cutting), xxiv. 27.
- Sermons, A Muslim Book of, with illustrations, T. H. W., xviii. 3.
- Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, Garments of, A. C. W., xx. 4.
- Shapira, and his Moabite pottery and Deuteronomy, with illustrations, J. R., i. 10.
- Shaver, Young. See Etymological.
- Shebhet Jehuda. See Jewish Controversy.
- Sheikh of Morocco of the Sixteenth Century, A. T. H. W., xv. 38.
- Sheikhs of Morocco, extracts from Weir's book, xxiii. 35.
- Sherlock Holmes. See Jewish.
- Ship of the Desert, J. R., xiv. 36.
- Siloam Inscription, a note on by Fischer in Z.D.M.G., with illustrations, J. R., xvi. 17.
- Sinai, Exploration at (cuttings), xxiv. 23.
- Slaves, Emancipation and Muslim Law, D. B. M. (with editorial note), v. 37.
- Solomon, A Judgment of (from *Ost und West*), with illustrations, J. R., x. 2.
- Song, A Coffee-House, T. H. W., xiv. 44.
- Stork, The name of the, in Hebrew, J. R., xvi. 42.
- Superstitions. See Jewish.
- Syriac Bible of the Brit. and For. Bib. Soc., Note on by Nestle, J. R., xxii. 38.
- Tabernacle, The Framework of the, R. B. P., xix. 2.
- Tabernacle, Furniture of, R. B. P., xxiii. 39.
- Talmud, A Twentieth Century; the Jewish Encyclopaedia (cutting), x. 25.
- Talmudic Proverb, A, J. R., xi. 16.
- Tangier to Cape Spartel, T. H. W., iv. 9.
- Tangier to Mequinez, T. H. W., v. 4.
- Tangier to Tetuan, T. H. W., ii. 7.
- Texts in Pictures—  
 Is. xlvi. 1, 2, illustrated in vii. 14.  
 Psalm lxvi. 12, illustrated in viii. 28.  
 Psalm cxix. 97, illustrated in ix. 36.
- Thief's Profit, A, T. H. W., xxi. 46.
- Tobit, J. M'G., x. 31.
- Translatorat Work, A Bible (Kilgour), J. R., xxiii. 28.
- Turning of the Morning, A. C. W., with editorial note, xx. 8.
- University Extension and Oriental Languages, J. R., iii. 23.
- Victoria, Queen. See British Jews.
- Waw of Asseveration, J. R., xvii. 3.
- Wedding. See Latin Marriages.
- Wellhausen on Islam, Translation by D. S. M., xxiii. 4.
- Wellhausen's Last Words on the Psalms, with portrait, J. R., vi. 30.
- Wheat Corners, T. H. W., xvii. 10.
- Words of the Wise, T. H. W., xxi. 48.

## APPENDIX II.

## LIST OF MEMBERS.

NAME.	YEAR OF ELECTION.
Professor Robertson, D.D., LL.D., - - -	1880
* James Arthur, B.D., - - -	"
Robert B. Pattie, B.D., - - -	"
*** William Kean, D.D., - - -	"
** Peter Donaldson, B.D., - - -	1881
James Young, B.D., - - -	"
** James E. Houston, B.D., - - -	"
A. Cameron Watson, B.D., - - -	"
** Alex. Stewart, B.D., - - -	"
Professor Kennedy, D.D., - - -	1882
** James Lindsay, D.D., - - -	"
** Wm. Grant Duncan, B.D., - - -	"
** John Taylor, - - -	"
George Anderson, B.D., - - -	1883
*** Chas. S. M'Alpine, B.D., - - -	"
* Professor Dobie, B.D., - - -	"
** D. G. Manuel, B.D., - - -	"
** W. G. M'Laren, - - -	"
James Millar, B.D., - - -	"
Patrick H. Aitken, B.D., B.Sc., D.Litt., - - -	"
Morison Bryce, - - -	1884
Hugh Duncan, B.D., - - -	"
** James M. Hamilton, B.D., - - -	"
*** Robert Morris, M.A., - - -	"
* James Ingram, B.D., - - -	1885
*** R. M'Cheyne Paterson, B.D., - - -	"
** John W. Henderson, B.D., - - -	"
** John W. Jack, - - -	"
** Robert Cumming, B.D., - - -	"
** Geo. S. Kerr, B.D., - - -	"
** Archibald Jamieson, M.A., - - -	"
** Thos. E. S. Clarke, B.D., - - -	"
** E. P. Phillips, - - -	1886
** William Muirhead, M.A., - - -	1887
*** Professor D. B. M'Donald, B.D., - - -	"
** James Craig, B.D., - - -	"
Thos. H. Weir, B.D., - - -	"
** David Frew, B.D., - - -	"
** E. J. W. Gibb, M.R.A.S., - - -	"
John Smith, D.D., - - -	"
Andrew Baird, B.D., - - -	1888
Robert Gardner, B.D., - - -	"
** Robert Jack, B.D., - - -	"
*** Robert Kilgour, B.D., - - -	"
Daniel Kirkwood, B.D., - - -	"
* Wm. MacGill, B.D., - - -	"
Jas. Cromarty Smith, B.D., - - -	1889
* John Wilson, Ph.D., - - -	"
John Campbell, B.D., - - -	1890
Peter Adam, B.D., - - -	"
** Wm. M'Kean Campbell, B.D., - - -	"
Hugh Armstrong, B.D., - - -	"

\* Deceased.

\*\* Ceased to be Member.

\*\*\* Corresponding Member.



NAME.	YEAR OF ELECTION.
Duncan H. Brodie, B.D., - - -	1891
William Howie, B.D., - - -	1892
Jas. W. M'Donald, B.D., - - -	"
Ewen M. M'Gregor, M.A., - - -	"
*** Peter Melville, B.D., - - -	"
William Richmond Scott, - - -	"
* Gavin Greenlees, - - -	1893
David R. Alexander, B.D., - - -	"
Robert Burnett, B.D., - - -	1894
Francis G. Geddes, B.D., - - -	"
** Alexander Gibson, B.D., - - -	"
John Mack, B.D., - - -	"
John M'Gilchrist, B.D., - - -	"
David S. Merrow, B.D., - - -	"
John H. Pagan, B.D., - - -	"
John C. M'Naught, B.D., - - -	1895
** William Swan, B.D., - - -	1896
*** John H. H. M'Neil, B.D., - - -	"
W. J. S. Miller, B.D., - - -	1898
John W. Murray, B.A. (Oxon.), - - -	"
John M'A. Dickie, B.D., - - -	1899
J. E. H. Thomson, D.D., - - -	"
William Ewing, M.A., - - -	1900
Hugh Y. Arnott, B.D., - - -	"
Andrew M'Farlane, B.D., - - -	"
Robert Aitken, B.D., - - -	"
** James W. Baird, B.D., - - -	"
William W. Fulton, B.D., - - -	"
George Condie, B.D., - - -	1901
William Fulton, B.D., B.Sc., - - -	"
John Muir, B.D., - - -	"
*** T. G. Pinches, LL.D., - - -	"
William Rollo, M.A., - - -	1902
William Brownlee, B.D., - - -	"
A. Boyd Scott, B.D., - - -	"
** R. Montgomerie Hardie, B.D., - - -	"
Thos. Low, B.D., - - -	"
*** John Cameron, B.D., - - -	"
* Daniel M'Lean, B.D., - - -	1903
*** Robt. B. Douglas, B.D., - - -	"
John T. Arnott, B.D., - - -	"
Norman R. Mitchell, B.D., - - -	"
*** W. Marshall Tait, B.D., - - -	"
Alex. H. Harley, M.A., - - -	"
John M'Ara, B.D., - - -	"
*** D. H. Gillan, B.D., - - -	"
Jas. Robertson Buchanan, M.A., - - -	1904
Wm. W. Monteith, B.D., - - -	"
George Muir, B.D., - - -	"
Brodie S. Gilfillan, B.D., - - -	"
*** Wm. M. Christie, B.D., - - -	"
Jas. C. M. Fairlie, B.D., - - -	1905
John S. Robertson, B.D., - - -	"
John A. G. Thomson, B.D., - - -	1906
Robt. C. Thomson, B.D., - - -	"
Samuel F. Hunter, M.A., - - -	1907
Alex. Moffatt, B.D., - - -	"
J. M. Woodburn, B.D., - - -	"

\* Deceased.

\*\* Ceased to be Member.

\*\*\* Corresponding Member.

## APPENDIX III.

CONSTITUTION OF THE GLASGOW UNIVERSITY  
ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

I. The Name of the Society shall be the "GLASGOW UNIVERSITY ORIENTAL SOCIETY."

II. The Object of the Society shall be the Study of the Languages, Literatures, and Histories of the East.

III. In the prosecution of this Object, the Society shall meet at stated times for the reading and discussing of papers bearing on Oriental Subjects.

IV. The Society shall be composed of such Students of Oriental Languages as shall be duly elected.

V. The Society may elect as Corresponding Members such persons permanently resident abroad as may be willing to contribute to the proceedings of the Society.

VI. The Office-Bearers of the Society shall be a President, Vice-President, two Secretaries (Corresponding and Recording), Treasurer, and an Editor of the Magazine—to be elected annually. The Secretaries and Treasurer to be resident in or near Glasgow.

VII. The Affairs of the Society shall be administered by a Committee of Management consisting of the Office-Bearers and two Members—also to be elected annually, and resident in or near Glasgow. One-third of the Committee shall form a quorum.

VIII. Each Ordinary Member shall pay an Annual Subscription, the amount of which shall be fixed from time to time by the Committee of Management.

IX. Motions affecting the Constitution and Bye-Laws shall be discussed only at the Stated Meetings of the Society, and notices of such motions must be given in writing to the Corresponding Secretary at least two months beforehand.

## APPENDIX IV.

## BYE-LAWS.

I. The Stated Meetings of the Society shall be held in Glasgow twice a year.

II. The Committee of Management shall draw up a programme of business for each Stated Meeting, and shall forward a copy thereof to each Member, at least a month before the Meeting.

III. Names of persons proposed for election shall be submitted to the Committee of Management at least two months before the ensuing Stated Meeting of the Society, and such names shall be inserted in the programme of business for that Meeting.

IV. In order to election, each person thus named must be proposed and seconded at the Meeting. The question shall be put to the Meeting, and the vote shall be by ballot. A majority of three-fourths of the Members present shall be necessary for election.

V. At each Stated Meeting the Society shall appoint the Members who are to contribute papers at the ensuing Meeting. For this purpose a list of

Members' Names, in the order of their election, shall be printed, and this shall be the order of rotation in which Members shall be called upon to contribute papers.

VI. Each Member so appointed shall indicate to the Corresponding Secretary the subject of his paper at least two months before the Meeting, and shall at said Meeting lay on the table an abstract of his paper, to be retained by the Society.

VII. The Committee of Management shall keep Minutes of all its Meetings, and shall report its proceedings to each Stated Meeting of the Society.

VIII. The Committee shall have power to summon, on occasion, Special Meetings of the Society.

IX. If any Ordinary Member be absent without reasonable excuse from three consecutive General Meetings of the Society, or if any Corresponding Member shall have ceased to show that he retains an active interest in the Society, it shall be in the power of the Committee to communicate with such Member, and thereafter, at their own discretion, to remove his name from the Roll. All such cases shall be reported to the next General Meeting of the Society.

## APPENDIX V.

### COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT.

1907.

PROF. ROBERTSON, D.D., LL.D., President.

R. B. PATTIE, B.D., Vice-President.

JAMES YOUNG, B.D., Corresponding Secretary.

GEORGE ANDERSON, B.D., Recording Secretary.

ROBERT GARDNER, B.D., Treasurer.

T. H. WEIR, B.D., Editor.

MORISON BRYCE.

HUGH DUNCAN, B.D.

19 07







**GLASGOW UNIVERSITY ORIENTAL SOCIETY**









Wm B. Stevenson

*Glasgow University Oriental Society*

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# Transactions from 1907-12

with

## Introduction

By

**Rev. George Anderson, D.D.**

Recording Secretary



**Glasgow**

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## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION, . . . . .	1
Rev. Geo. Anderson, D.D.	
RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN PALESTINE, . . . . .	5
Rev. Professor A. R. S. Kennedy, D.D.	
THE DOUBLE GENITIVE, AND ALLIED CONSTRUCTIONS, . . . . .	6
Mr. R. B. Pattie, B.D.	
THE STATUS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, . . . . .	7
Rev. John Muir, B.D.	
THE GOSPEL OF BARNABAS, . . . . .	9
Rev. Wm. Fulton, B.D., B.Sc.	
SITE AND ARRANGEMENTS OF HEROD'S TEMPLE, . . . . .	12
Rev. Prof. A. R. S. Kennedy, D.D.	
A JOURNEY TO BABYLON, . . . . .	12
Rev. John Cameron, B.D.	
THE WISDOM LITERATURE OF THE HEBREWS IN RELATION TO GREEK THOUGHT, . . . . .	16
Rev. Norman R. Mitchell, B.D.	
EZEKIEL'S TEMPLE, . . . . .	17
Mr. R. B. Pattie, B.D.	
ARTIFICIAL OR ILLUSTRATIVE NUMBERS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT, . . . . .	22
Rev. Prof. W. B. Stevenson, B.D., D.Litt.	
BLOOD-FEUD AMONGST THE SEMITES, . . . . .	23
Principal Alex. H. Harley, B.D.	
THE CODE OF HAMMURABI AND ISRAELITISH LEGISLATION, . . . . .	25
Rev. J. R. Buchanan, B.D.	
HEBREW AND BABYLONIAN PSALMS, . . . . .	27
Rev. A. C. Baird, B.D., B.Sc.	
USE OF 2ND PERS. SING. AND PLURAL OF ADDRESS IN ISAIAH XL-LV., . . . . .	31
Preface by Rev. Prof. W. B. Stevenson, B.D., D.Litt.	
Rev. S. F. Hunter, B.D.	

	PAGE
BEGINNINGS OF HEBREW STUDY IN SCOTLAND, . . . .	37
Rev. Prof. A. R. S. Kennedy, D.D.	
OBSERVATIONS ON A RECENT VISIT TO PALESTINE, . . . .	40
Rev. George Anderson, D.D.	
IMPRESSIONS OF SERVICE ON THE INDIAN NORTH-WEST FRONTIER, . . . .	42
Rev. J. H. H. McNeill, B.D.	
PEOPLES AND LANGUAGES OF THE EASTERN HIMALAYAS, . . . .	46
Rev. A. P. S. Tulloch, B.D.	
THE USE OF THE NAME "ISRAEL" IN OLD TESTAMENT TIMES, . . . .	51
Rev. Prof. W. B. Stevenson, B.D., D.Litt., and Rev. D. F. Roberts, B.D.	
GROUP STUDY SCHEME, . . . . .	53
Rev. Prof. W. B. Stevenson, B.D., D.Litt.	
AGE OF THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH, . . . . .	55
Rev. J. E. H. Thomson, D.D.	
WIENER'S CRITICISM OF THE WELLHAUSEN SCHOOL, . . . .	57
Rev. R. C. Thomson, B.D.	
NOTES ON RECENT LITERATURE, . . . . .	58
Rev. Prof. Jas. Robertson, D.D., LL.D. Rev. Prof. W. B. Stevenson, B.D., D.Litt.	
HEBREW AS A SPOKEN TONGUE, . . . . .	61
Rev. W. M. Christie, M.A.	

## APPENDICES.

	PAGE
I. THE "MEGILLAH" OR FLYING ROLL—	
LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS, . . . . .	63
INDEX TO ARTICLES, . . . . .	64
II. LIST OF MEMBERS OF GLASGOW UNIVERSITY ORIENTAL SOCIETY, . . . . .	68
III. CONSTITUTION OF THE SOCIETY, . . . . .	70
IV. BYE-LAWS OF THE SOCIETY, . . . . .	71
V. OFFICE-BEARERS OF THE SOCIETY, . . . . .	72

# GLASGOW UNIVERSITY ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

## INTRODUCTION TO TRANSACTIONS, 1907-12.

BY REV. GEORGE ANDERSON, D.D.

THE present is the third publication which the Society has made of its *Transactions*. The chief event in the Society's history during the past five years was the change following on the resignation by Professor Robertson of the Chair of Hebrew and Semitic Languages in the University of Glasgow. On his retiral from the occupancy of that chair Professor Robertson thought it right to retire also from the Presidency of the Society, a position he had held from the beginning of the Society's existence. The force of his reasons for doing so was recognised by all, and while his resignation was accepted with regret, he had the assurance of the grateful acknowledgment of all the members. Professor Stevenson, his successor in the academic chair, was with the heartiest unanimity elected to fill his place also as President of the Society. The honourable traditions of the office have been most worthily sustained by the new President. Himself an enthusiast in the special studies that engage the attention of the members he has done much to evoke the enthusiasm of others and to guide their studies to profitable ends. The record of work undertaken and carried through by the members contained in the following *Transactions* is itself ample testimony to this, while particularly the organisation of the several groups for the careful study of some limited and clearly defined subject is due entirely to his initiation

and counsel. The Society welcomed the new President and gratefully recognises his deep interest in its work and aims.

The retiral of Professor Robertson gave the Society an opportunity that was gladly taken advantage of to create a new office, that of Honorary President, and to this new office he was cordially elected. The members were well aware that it did not need such an appointment to secure the continued presence and support of Professor Robertson at the meetings, but it was felt fitting that he should hold an official position worthy of his long and invaluable services to the Society.

At the same time a further step was taken in a similar direction. While Honorary Membership was not contemplated when the Society was instituted, the need then being for members who could and would take a full share in all its work, the removal of members, who had given valuable service, to distances that made regular attendance difficult, rendered it desirable that their services should be recognised and their interest as far as possible retained. To secure this it was agreed to institute an Honorary Membership for which only such members of the Society should be eligible as had given long service to the Society and done meritorious work in connection with it. A special diploma was prepared, and until the present time only two members have been elected to this honourable position.

Cognate with this subject of membership the question of the admission of ladies was considered, and the unanimous finding was that the Constitution of the Society does not in any way preclude their election. As yet, however, no ladies have been proposed for membership.

Since the institution of the Society, 123 members have been admitted, of whom 11 have died and 36 have ceased to be members, leaving 76 at present on the Roll. This number includes 2 Honorary Members, 13 Corresponding members, and 61 Ordinary Members. The Corresponding Members are widely scattered in Russia, India, Australia, and America. Several of these have recently contributed to the *Transactions* of the Society, as will be seen from their articles appearing in the present publication.



The most important development of the Society's work during the past quinquennial period has been the institution, under the guidance of the President, of the Group Study Scheme. The distinctive object of this Scheme is to associate several members together in a definite and limited department of study. It is hoped that fresh results may be obtained in subjects that are too extensive for one individual to overtake, but that promise to yield something of value to the investigations of several working together. The members of the Society are divided throughout the various groups and already considerable progress has been made in accomplishing the end in view. A full list of the groups as finally adjusted and as now in operation will be found included in the transactions of April, 1912 (page 54).

The preparation and circulation of the "Megillah," which has for many years been a prominent feature of the Society's work, is being continued. For the inception of this magazine and for most of the labour involved in conducting it, the Society is indebted to the Honorary President, and it is a matter of deep gratification that Mr. Weir, the general editor, has kindly undertaken to continue its compilation and circulation. A complete index of all the articles and their contributors from the first number to the thirtieth, the one most recently put into circulation, will be found in Appendix I. The first twenty-seven numbers are now deposited in the University Library, where they can be consulted, and arrangements are being made whereby it may be possible for members to have them out of the Library on application through the Society's Secretary.

The aim of the Society continues to be the promotion of the study of the Languages, Literatures, and Histories of the East, and these subjects taken in their most comprehensive sense. The aim is becoming ever more interesting and important. The continually increasing contact of the East and West, not only in political concerns, but in civil and mercantile as well, is making it ever a greater necessity that the one should understand the other, and that they should be able to enter more intelligently into each other's sympathies and interests. Travel can do much to further this, but travel,

at least in an effective sense, is not possible to everyone. A wider door is open to many more in the study of these eastern lands in their histories and customs, and this to be fully advantageous involves some knowledge of their languages and of their most recent developments, social and otherwise. In this connection it must be remembered that all history finds its roots in the East, and grateful acknowledgment must be made by those to whom such studies appeal of the splendid results of recent exploration and excavation, and by none more than by the members of this Society is such work followed with deepest satisfaction. Alike from the side of Biblical study, archaeological research, political development and commercial enterprise, the aim of this Society claims a place in the interests of both students and practical men of affairs.

RENFREW, *Dec.* 1912.

## TRANSACTIONS FROM 1907-12.

*1st May, 1907.*

At this meeting 16 members were present. The first paper read was : "Sketch of the Proceedings of the Society since 1901," by the Recording Secretary. This paper was subsequently published as part of the *Transactions of the Society from 1901-1907*. Prof. Kennedy read a paper on "Recent Excavations in Palestine in their Bearing on the Old Testament." A summary of this paper is given here.

### RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN PALESTINE IN THEIR BEARING ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

*October, 1906.*

BY PROFESSOR KENNEDY, D.D., OF EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY.

THE aim of this paper was twofold : (1) to give a sketch of the history of Palestine excavation from 1890 onwards ; (2) to attempt a provisional estimate of the bearing of the results of excavation on our knowledge of the life and religion of the Canaanites and on the Old Testament generally. Under the first head was given a *résumé* of the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund in the south-west of Palestine, beginning with Flinders Petrie's epoch-making work on the mound of Tell-el-Hesi in 1890, and ending with Mr. Macalister's excavation of Gezer, then in progress. Reference was also made to Professor Sellin's work at Taanach, and to that of the German Palestine Society at Tell Mutesellim, the ancient Megiddo.

Under the second head attention was called to the importance of the excavations for the earliest history of man in Palestine in the period before the appearance of the Semites in the country, *circa*

2500 B.C. The chief stress, however, was laid on the fresh light thrown upon the manner of life of the Canaanites before the Hebrew invasion, their cities and their fortifications, their houses, their high places, and the manner of their worship, etc. The influence of Egypt on the one hand and of Babylonia on the other was indicated. Also the bearing of the excavations on the prophetic references to the worship of Baal and Astarte, and on certain religious practices, such as the sacrifice of first-born infants, foundation sacrifices, and the like.

The whole subject has since been treated in detail by H. Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente*, 1907, and S. R. Driver, *Modern Research as Illustrating the Bible, the Schweich Lectures*, 1908.

30th October, 1907.

This meeting was attended by 15 members. A remit was made to the Committee to consider and report as to the advisability of instituting an Honorary Office-bearership and an Honorary Membership. There was read from Professor Robertson a letter resigning the position of President, which he had held since the beginning of the Society. This letter was left over for consideration at the next meeting. Papers were read as follows: (1) By Mr. Pattie on "The Double Genitive." (2) By Mr. Young for the Rev. John Muir, B.D., on "The Status of the Old Testament." (3) By Mr. Fairlie on the "Enchiridion Studiosi by Borhaneddin."

## THE DOUBLE GENITIVE, AND ALLIED CONSTRUCTIONS.

By MR. R. B. PATTIE, B.D.

Most Hebrew grammars say that when two genitives are connected by a conjunction, the governing noun should appear twice; but they admit, often with evident reluctance, that there are exceptions.

But actual counting of instances through the whole Old Testament shows that the shorter form is rather *more frequent* than the longer: subject to revision, it may be said that the difference in its favour is about 3 per cent. In cases where both genitives have heavy adjuncts, the longer is preferred; if these are set aside, the preference for the shorter is more pronounced. Thus there is no foundation for

the supposed rule: קול חתן וכלה is as good and as usual as קול חתן וקול כלה

Taking separate books, there are great variations. Psalms and Esther use the short form exclusively: no long book is entirely on the other side. Proverbs has no example of either. The truth seems to be that whenever an author seeks to go beyond a commonplace style, the shorter form becomes more common: one great exception is in the story of Elijah and Elisha.

If then a single construct can govern two genitives connected by a conjunction, there is less reason for explaining away cases where the genitives are not so connected. There can be no dispute when the two are in apposition, though the rule, as usually given, would forbid even that. But **ימי עולם משה** is *ultimately* equivalent to **ימי עולם ימי משה**: why not admit that it is directly and grammatically equivalent?

There are, on the other hand, not a few cases where two constructs in apposition precede one genitive: as **בתולת בת ציון** . . . **אנשי בני**. It is usually explained that the second word is really a genitive, since the genitive relation may be substituted for the apposition, as also in Arabic. That happens often with geographical or topographical names, and even an adjective sometimes puts its noun in the construct; but it would be hard to find a good instance otherwise. So it is better to say boldly that the two constructs govern the one genitive. In such phrases alliteration is very common.

Two really rare constructions are similar in principle. Two constructs may be connected by a conjunction; as . . . **מבחר וטוב**: perhaps only if the second is a monosyllable. And a construct may be followed by an adjective also in the construct form: **פנת יקרת מוסד מוסד**.

## THE STATUS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

By REV. JOHN MUIR, B.D.

THE question may be stated thus: Has not the time arrived when the Old Testament ought to be discarded as a means of revelation and edification?

Objections based on inconsistency with scientific knowledge leave spiritual value unimpaired, and the main object of an inspired Scripture is spiritual profit. Objections on the ground of historical inaccuracy are not now so confidently urged. As regards non-fulfilment of prophetic predictions, it has been pointed out that prediction was a very subsidiary part of the prophetic function, and that we are not

entitled to assume that the prophets themselves expected literal fulfilment in every case. The moral value of their writings remains incomparable. Objection is taken to the religious and moral teaching of the Old Testament. Admittedly some of its ideas have been outgrown, and elements of faith and practice enjoined in it are no longer binding. The principle of development operates in the spiritual life of man, and therefore also in the sphere of revelation. The Old Testament is to be received as the record of a historic progressive revelation of divine truth and divine activity. It contains much of spiritual truth and value for our own day, but the measure of its authority must be the measure of its harmony with the spirit and the teaching of Jesus Christ.

Of specific moral objections we take the allegation that certain passages are positively indecent. We premise that plainness of speech is not indecent, and that outspokenness concerning shameful things in such a setting as Scripture affords may be very valuable. Moreover, the story of sin is told so as to show its hatefulness and God's condemnation of it. Genesis xix. (30, etc.) may be cited, however, as an instance to the contrary, and in any other setting no one would describe it as "edifying." Other passages may be found here and there, which, however explicable historically, might well be omitted from a book designed purely for the edification of the present age.

The attempt to "edit" the Old Testament by a process of excision might be justified by appeal to the mode in which the canon was formed and finally determined, and should not be opposed because of any *a priori* theory of inspiration; since Scripture itself must be allowed to define its own mode of inspiration, but the task would probably prove impracticable. It is also doubtful if perusal of the passages to which objection is taken does work ill: those who read for edification pass them by or find in them warning against sin: and to the impure all things are impure.

The elements of permanent value are too great to allow the Old Testament to be set aside or relegated to the hands of students. There is need for a clearer definition of the Christian attitude toward it, and of the degree of authority which attaches to its teaching; but the time has not yet come—if it will ever come—for discarding it as a means of revelation and edification.

29th. April, 1908.

This meeting was attended by 18 members. The Committee recommended "that an Honorary President be

appointed who shall be a member of the Committee. The President to act as Chairman at all meetings of the Society or Committee." They further recommended the institution of Honorary Membership, to which should be admitted such members as had given long and honourable service to the Society, and that a diploma be given to such Honorary Members stating the grounds on which the honour is conferred. These recommendations were unanimously agreed to, and Emeritus Prof. Robertson was elected Honorary President.

The following papers were read. An abstract of the second is given. (1) By Rev. J. W. Murray on "The Bible and the Religious Consciousness." (2) By Rev. W. Fulton on "The Gospel of Barnabas."

## THE GOSPEL OF BARNABAS.

BY REV. W. FULTON, B.D., B.Sc.

IN the autumn of 1907 a volume bearing this title was issued from the Clarendon Press. It contains the Italian text with an English translation of a codex belonging to the Imperial Library in Vienna. The existence of the codex was brought to Dr. Sanday's notice by Dr. Hastie of the University of Glasgow, who had been asked by Dr. Youngson of the Church of Scotland's Mission to Muslims to make a search for the so-called Gospel of Barnabas and to have it translated and published.

The appearance of this volume revives an old controversy of the 18th century in England, when the Muslims asserted—as they have continued to do—the existence of a pure Gospel in Arabic, uncorrupted and ungarbled by Church tradition, which had been written by the apostle Barnabas. In that century two different copies of a Gospel of Barnabas were certainly known to exist, and were to some extent accessible. One was in Spanish. It was seen and described by George Sale, the translator of the Koran, in 1734; it was also used by Dr. White, the Bampton Lecturer in 1784. It has since disappeared. The other copy was in Italian. From the descriptions of it given by M. Bernard de la Monnoie in 1716, and by John Toland the English Deist in 1718, there is no doubt that it was identical with the copy which has now been edited. It was the property of J. F. Cramér, who presented it with a dedicatory preface to Prince Eugene

of Savoy in 1713, on whose death it passed, in 1738, into the Imperial Library at Vienna.

Now La Monnoie, Toland, Sale, and White all allow the existence of an Arabic original. But White professedly derived his information from Sale's Preliminary Discourse; and Sale's information was based on the writings of La Monnoie and Toland; and we know that neither of these scholars had set eyes on an Arabic copy. And so, as the editors of the Gospel of Barnabas justly conclude, the external authority for an Arabic original melts away into the conjecture of Cramer found on his dedication page: *sive arabice, sive alia lingua . . . compositum, in Italicum sermonem . . . conversum*. The suspicion is indeed warranted that the Muslims owe their knowledge of the existence of an Arabic Gospel of Barnabas to Sale's Preface and Preliminary Discourse!

When we turn to the internal evidence supplied by the Italian codex, we again discover little or nothing to support the idea of an Arabic original. The codex itself, as may be judged from the binding, the paper, and the script, belongs to the latter half of the sixteenth century; and might be the very copy of the Gospel of Barnabas to which reference is made in the curious preface to the Spanish version (preserved in Sale's Preface), in which a renegade Christian monk tells how he discovered the Gospel in the library of Pope Sixtus V. (1585-90), and stole it from there while his Holiness was asleep! The book purports to be the true Gospel of Jesus according to the description of Barnabas his apostle; and it is particularly directed against those who call Jesus Son of God, repudiate the circumcision, and permit every unclean meat, "among whom also Paul hath been deceived." Barnabas, the fictitious writer of the Gospel, is represented as one of the Twelve, Thomas or perhaps Simon Zelotes giving place to him. The four canonical Gospels furnish the framework of the narrative, which is garbled throughout—more or less ingeniously—in the interests of Islam. As for the question of authorship and date, it would appear as though the author might well have been some apostate Latin priest or monk of the Middle Ages, perhaps of the first half of the fourteenth century. For "Barnabas" reveals his dependence not only on the canonical Gospels and the Christian Bible as a whole, but also on Rabbinic, Muslim, and other mediaeval sources; his knowledge, too, of the Scriptures is apparently derived from the Vulgate, while his special familiarity with the Psalter suggests the priest or monk; and that he was an apostate Christian may be gathered from the fact that whereas he shows great knowledge of the Scriptures, his knowledge of the Talmud and the Koran depends largely upon the Muslim commentators and the post-Koranic tradition, and he even diverges sometimes from the teaching of the Koran—for example, in presenting Muhammed as the Messiah and Jesus as his



Forerunner. The editors adduce reasons for the opinion that "Barnabas" may have written his book between 1300 and 1350 A.D., and they are convinced that if an Arabic prototype should be discovered it could but serve to emphasise the originality and individuality of the first Italian translator.

Thus the evidence, whether external or internal, for the Arabic original is vague and shadowy at the best.

The question remains as to the relationship, if any, of this Gospel of Barnabas to the lost Gnostic Gospel also taking its name from the apostle and mentioned among heretical books in the Gelasian Decree. It is not unlikely that some of the material of the Gospel of Barnabas may be directly derived from Apocryphal Gospels, possibly from the aforesaid Gnostic Gospel itself. At least certain apocryphal miracles and parables in the Gospel of Barnabas as well as the doctrines of the Painless Birth and of the Docetic Passion in which Judas suffers in his Master's place, indicate a Gnostic origin; although in the last instance the source might be the Arabic *Tales of the Prophets* of post-Koranic times.

For the rest, as the editors remark, the book raises problems of considerable importance—if not to the student of early Gnostic literature, at any rate to the student of mediaeval theology and to those interested, whether academically or otherwise, in the relations between Islam and Christianity.

*References* : (1) *Gospel of Barnabas* (edited by Lonsdale and Laura Ragg, Arabic marginal notes translated by Professor Margoliouth); (2) Toland's *Nazarenus*; (3) Sale's *Koran*; (4) Axon in *Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1902; (5) Youngson in *Life and Work*, May, 1904, and *Expository Times*, March, 1908; (6) *Orient and Occident*, November, 1907, and following months; (7) Article by present writer in *Megillah*.

27th October, 1908.

This meeting was attended by 15 members, and final instructions were given for the preparation of a Diploma of Honorary Membership.

The papers read were : (1) "The Site and Arrangements of Herod's Temple," by Rev. Professor A. R. S. Kennedy, D.D. (2) "A Journey to Babylon," by Rev. John Cameron, B.D.

## THE SITE AND ARRANGEMENTS OF HEROD'S TEMPLE.

BY PROFESSOR A. R. S. KENNEDY, D.D., OF EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY.

THIS paper embodied the results of the writer's study of the problems affecting (1) the precise site of Herod's Temple relative to the *sakhra* or "sacred rock," within the "Dome of the Rock," otherwise known as the Mosque of Omar. It was shown that the sacred rock marked the site of the altar of burnt offering of the several temples, and that, as a necessary consequence, these temples successively occupied a site to the west of the rock.

(2) An attempt was made to determine more precisely the size of the outer court, as enlarged by Herod, relatively to the more extensive area of the present "Haram," and of the inner courts and sanctuary proper in relation to the present raised platform upon which stands the Mosque of Omar. The number, position, and identification of the gates giving access to the outer court, also the dimensions and architectural features of the Royal Porch, were included in the investigation.

(3) The third section of the paper was devoted to the *Naos* or Temple proper, its exact position, its architecture, and internal arrangements.

The results of the investigation were published in more detail in a series of articles in the *Expository Times*, vol. xx., 1908; also in the articles "Temple" in the *Encyclop. Britannica*, 11th edit., and *Hastings' Dict. of the Bible* in one volume.

## A VISIT TO BABYLON.

BY REV. JOHN CAMERON, B.D.

THE ruins of Babylon lie on the banks of the Euphrates about sixty miles from Baghdad. The road follows a straight line across the intervening desert, and the traveller can ride or drive. Driving in the desert sounds a novel experience; but memories of Assyrian war-chariots come back and quicken the reflection that it was probably in this part of the world that wheeled traffic began. The desert, again, is only a name for the uncultivated alluvial soil of which Babylonia consists; and the road is only a beaten track following the shortest distance from khan to khan. For the greater part of the way the roads to Babylon and Kerbela unite. One of the pleasantest ways of reaching Babylon is to drive forty miles along the Kerbela

road to Musaiyib on the Euphrates and float down stream from there. But in the autumn the bed of the river at Babylon is completely dry. The reason is worth stating, as it helps to throw some light on the history and on the present condition of the country. From ancient times the Hindiah Canal had irrigated the land on the west of the river, flowing from a point a little below Musaiyib past the historic town of Kufa, near which Ali is buried, and joining the river again many miles further down. Gradually, or suddenly as has happened in other parts, the main stream forced its way into the canal where it scoured out a broader and deeper channel for itself, and where it still flows. To a similar disaster once happening on the Tigris on an overwhelming scale Sir William Willcocks attributes the destruction of the great Nahrwan Canal and the desolation of the whole country east of the Tigris. So it comes that the waters of the Euphrates now flow fifteen miles west of Babylon except in the spring when there is plenty of water to fill the old bed as well. Failing this pleasant way by road and river there was a choice between driving and riding. Pilgrims from India to the Shiah shrines at Kerbela mostly drive. The vehicles from a little distance look like bathing-boxes drawn by four mules or ponies abreast. They hold eight or ten people and the pilgrims pay a "mejidi" or two and a half rupees for a seat. The Persian pilgrims who have brought their own ponies or donkeys all the way over the mountains, and some of whom have been on the road for six weeks or two months, still keep to the ancient custom of the road for the rest of the journey to Kerbela. All along the way they are to be met coming and going in parties of hundreds or in twos and threes, peculiar from their round felt caps and their frock coats and from faces burned red by the sun. They carry their women and children on their animals or in kajawahs, as the wooden cages slung one on each side of the transport are called. A coach runs regularly from Baghdad to Hillah just beyond Babylon, passing close to the ruins and crossing the site of the ancient city on its way. But the contractor, besides asking a stiff price for a private araba, would not undertake to drive me to Kerbela from Babylon. I found afterwards that there was no carriage road across country. I had, therefore, to gather my own small caravan and do the journey from stage to stage in the old-fashioned way. It is the best way to see a country, and the fresh air of the desert as we set out each morning was more than enough to reconcile one to the slower method of progress. I had to take my own servant and travelling-kit, and I was escorted by two Zaptiehs or irregular soldiers, provided by the authorities at Baghdad. Europeans are not allowed to travel without them. We arrived at Babylon on the third day, having stopped two nights at the khans on the way.

In the clear atmosphere of the desert and across its level surface

the smallest object is magnified to inexperienced eyes. From a long way off one of the Zaptiehs pointed out a hill which he called Babil. Instead of growing larger it seemed to grow smaller as we approached, until as we came near it, it shrank to the proportions of a large mound. Although Babylon has long been quite deserted, the natives of the surrounding villages have never lost the name for this mound, which is believed to enclose the remains of a palace built by Nebuchadnezzar at the northern extremity of the city. It is probably owing to this survival of the name that the site of Babylon has been known ever since the era of modern travel began. It was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, that public attention in England was drawn to the ruins. The East India Company then asked their Resident at Busrah to send home some of those bricks with inscriptions in an unknown form of writing of which by that time they had heard. The first survey of the site was undertaken by Claudius James Rich, the Company's Resident at Baghdad, who visited it in 1811. So well did he do his work that little more could be done until the decipherment of the cuneiform character. This great achievement, one of the greatest feats of human intelligence, was accomplished before 1850, about which time Sir Henry Rawlinson, who for some years had been Resident at Baghdad, announced that the cuneiform character had now been mastered. His claim was tested by the Royal Asiatic Society a few years later when they sent an inscription to him and three other Assyrian scholars, Hincks, Taylor and Oppert. It was found that the four translations agreed on all essential points. That was the beginning of the modern science of Assyriology. Layard had in the meantime visited Babylon, but his work here was not attended with the same success as his famous operations at Nineveh. Rawlinson returned to Baghdad in 1851. In the same year a French expedition which included Oppert, reached Baghdad, and after waiting for an opportunity, difficult to find in the disturbed state of the country, began the actual excavation of Babylon in 1852. Their means were limited, however, and the results of the expedition were small. The next systematic attempt was made by Hormuzd Rassam, Layard's old and capable assistant, who was requested to undertake the work by the British Museum in 1879. Rassam laboured for three years in different parts of the country with indefatigable energy. He opened up several of the mounds at Babylon and sent home an invaluable collection of tablets. After his departure no further excavations were made until the German Expedition at present settled there, began their quiet work. This expedition has been sent out by the Royal Prussian Museum at Berlin and is under the direction of the distinguished architect and scholar, Dr. Robert Koldewey, who has previously assisted in excavations in other parts of Babylonia.

The best view of the site is to be had from the mound Babil in the afternoon when the sunlight from the west defines the outline of the other mounds upon the plain. A fair idea of the size and shape of the ancient city may thus be formed. Earlier explorers were inclined to extend the walls of Nebuchadnezzar's city so as to include remains far to the east and west of the older town ; but more accurate research has contracted its limits again. The city stretched for three or three and a half miles along the left bank of the Euphrates with a small suburb on the other side. Back from the river it was built in a big triangle the apex of which was about two miles away. As in Baghdad to-day, the best site was along the river bank. There Nebuchadnezzar built his palace, the tradition of which had survived in the local name El Qasr or the castle which the Arabs applied to it before exploration began. The greater part of the area is now under cultivation or planted with palm trees. That is one of the difficulties the excavators have had to contend with. Another, and far more serious difficulty is the gradual rise of the water level, which prevents them going much deeper than Nebuchadnezzar's day. The rise of the water level in an alluvial country is Nature's provision for securing a proper fall of water from the upper to the lower reaches of the river ; but it operates unkindly against excavation. At Nippur, midway between the two rivers, it was found possible to dig down through the accumulated strata of thousands of years before reaching virgin soil. Still there is enough on the surface of Babylon to occupy all the time and attention which the expedition can give. Work is now going on at the great palace which Nebuchadnezzar built, and in which Alexander died. The pleasure as well as the interest of my visit were greatly enhanced by the kindness which I received from the members of the expedition. Not only was I hospitably welcomed to their house, but I was enabled, entirely by their guidance and personal direction, to see and to understand something of the ruins. The whole results of the expedition will some day be published. Meantime the traveller can walk up the very street where Nebuchadnezzar and Daniel walked and conversed together, and stand on the floor of the hall in which Belshazzar gave his feast.

A strong interest attaches to everything connected with Babylon ; and every fresh discovery confirms the opinion that it was the greatest city of antiquity, and one of the few great cities of the world.

*26th April, 1909.*

The meeting of this date was attended by 16 members. Warm congratulations were expressed to Dr. Kilgour on his

appointment to be Editorial Superintendent of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

The dates of meetings were altered to the last Monday of April and second Monday of October.

The Rev. A. C. Watson, B.D., was elected first Honorary Member of the Society.

The President, Prof. Stevenson, spoke on the proposals for Joint Research by small groups of the members and suggested several subjects to be dealt with.

The following papers were read : (1) "The Wisdom Literature of the Hebrews in relation to Greek Thought," by Rev. Norman R. Mitchell, B.D. (2) "Ezekiel's Temple," by Mr. R. B. Pattie, B.D.

#### THE WISDOM LITERATURE OF THE HEBREWS IN RELATION TO GREEK THOUGHT.

BY REV. NORMAN R. MITCHELL, B.D.

THE greater portion of Hebrew Wisdom Literature shows scanty traces of Greek influence. That is not a matter for surprise. For the two peoples entertained two very different conceptions of Wisdom. The Greek mind was bent on abstract speculation and scientific philosophy. The Hebrew's care for Wisdom was that it might be his guide in the art of living ; for him Wisdom lay in "fearing God and keeping His commandments."

*That is the first aspect of Hebrew Wisdom.* It is of a practical kind, with a vivid background of theology. One encounters it in Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, and in the apocryphal Ecclesiasticus. It is the product of Israel's long period of isolation.

The various exiles and other movements swept the Hebrews into the mighty outside currents of the time. They came into touch with Greek culture, especially in the busy and progressive city of Alexandria.

The contact with Hellenic thought is observed most of all in the apocryphal Book of Wisdom. The name of the author is unknown, but it is probable that he was a Jew of Alexandria, who was very conversant with Greek philosophy and literature. His period has been placed anywhere between 150 B.C. and 50 A.D.

Scientific philosophy cannot be found in this book, but there are undoubtedly many traces of Greek thought.

*The second aspect of Hebrew Wisdom is thus attained. It is not philosophy proper. Judaism became fused with Stoicism, Epicureanism and Platonism.*

*Traces of Greek Thought in Book of Wisdom.*

1. *Stoicism.*

- (a) Greatness of the Individual. See xii. 8.
- (b) Supremacy of reason : depreciation of emotion. "Fear is nothing save a surrender of reason's aids."
- (c) Doctrine of Providence. xiv. 3.

(2) *Epicureanism.*

- (a) See ii. 6.

(3) *Platonism.*

- (a) Four cardinal virtues : soberness, understanding, righteousness and courage. viii. 7.
- (b) Pre-existence of the soul. See viii. 19.
- (c) Body the prison of the soul. See viii. 15.
- (d) Immortality of the soul. Immortality the result of the righteous life.
- (e) Physical explanation of creation of the world—the theory that the world was made out of formless matter. "Thine all-powerful hand that created the world out of formless matter."

*Magnificent passages descriptive of Wisdom.* The style is reminiscent of the turgidity of the Greek Rhetoricians : but the conceptions have the magnificence of the Hebrew Shekinah. Even in a translation, these features can be observed. Thus : "She is a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty. She is an effulgence from everlasting light and an unspotted mirror of the working of God and an image of His goodness."

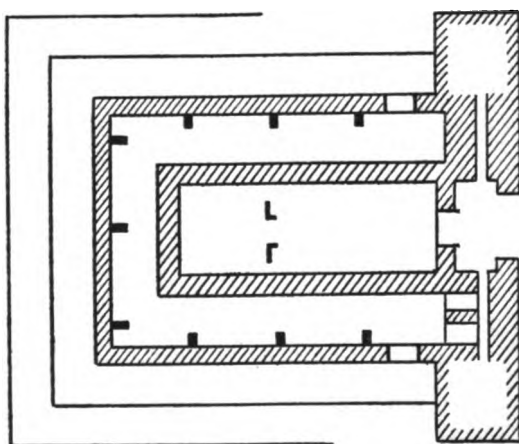
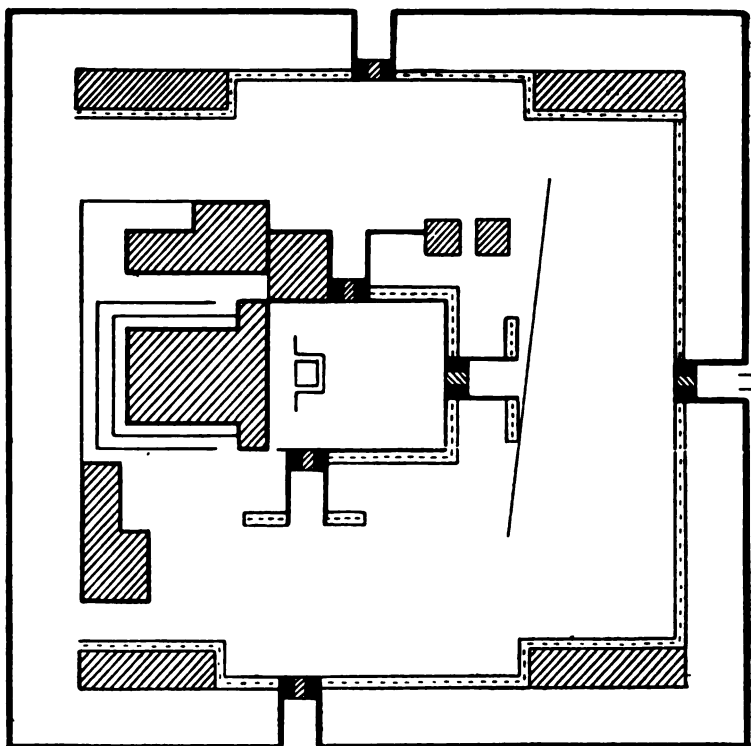
## EZEKIEL'S TEMPLE.

BY MR. R. B. PATTIE, B.D.

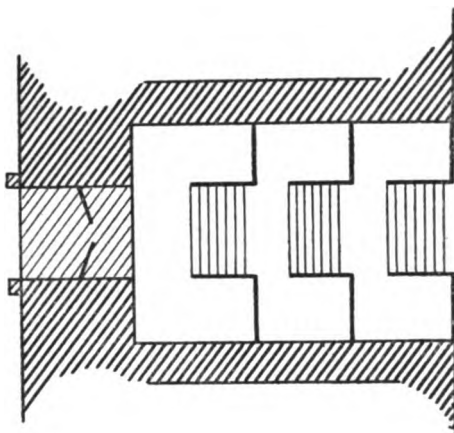
THE plan is arranged with due regard to the site, etc., and, as to the Temple proper, retains and enlarges nearly all the features of Solomon's work. It remained an ideal, only because the returned exiles were too few and too poor for so large an enterprise.

No interpolations need be struck out. Corrections of the text, except two, are supported by LXX.

The foundation of the House is a platform built (בנין) on the slope west of the Sahrah, the rock being cut (גזירה) to receive the stones.







The larger stage is 100 broad (41<sup>14</sup>); its length, up to the wings of the House, 100 (41<sup>15b</sup>), the bare rock being seen in part. The smaller stage is 80 broad, but within its walls 70 (41<sup>15</sup>): its length is 90 (41<sup>15</sup>). The House covers it all, except a margin of 10 cubits. (In 41<sup>8</sup>, read עֶשֶׂר for אֶשֶׁר.) Within its wall is a passage 5 broad, "the place that was left" (41<sup>11</sup>). So the breadth of the House is 60: but the east face is extended to 100 (41<sup>14</sup>) and rests partly on the native rock. The length of the House is 100 (41<sup>15</sup>): the wings being 20 square.

The details of the House are: outer walls 5 thick (41<sup>9</sup>): internal buttresses (עֲלֵוֹת = ribs) 4 cubits (41<sup>5</sup>): passages (called יְצִיעַ in 1 Kings) on the lowest storey 5 cubits, but wider above (41<sup>7</sup>): thickness of inner wall 6 (41<sup>5</sup>): making 20 on three sides. Interior 60 by 20 (41<sup>5-6</sup>): the partition is not counted. The porch is 20 from E. to W.: its posts 5 (אֵילִים 40<sup>48</sup>): its "breadth" 11 (40<sup>48</sup>): its back wall 4; but the breadth is only 10 if measured from the projection round the doorway (1 K. 6<sup>3</sup>).

The entrance to the Porch is 14, for 3 are taken off on each side (40<sup>48</sup>). It opens on a platform, 10 steps above the Court (48<sup>48</sup>: read עֶשֶׂר for אֶשֶׁר). Narrow passages run N. and S., so that the "post" of the Temple projects 6 (41<sup>1</sup>: no need to alter אֶהָל). The door of the Temple is 10 (41<sup>2</sup>).

The accompanying plans are not strictly to scale.

For the partition in front of the Most Holy Ezekiel and Kings supplement each other. It measures 20 by 20 by 1 (1 Kings 6<sup>38</sup> LXX): at the bottom it does not reach to the walls, for "he extended it"

by chains (1 K. 6<sup>22</sup>); the spaces left are 3 cubits, so 3 + 4 in Kings = 7 in Ezekiel (41<sup>3</sup>). Round the 6 cubit doorway is a projection (אֵיל מִזוּחֹת 1 K. 6<sup>21</sup>) making the thickness 2 cubits (Ezek. 41<sup>3</sup>).

The Side Chambers (צִלְעוֹת in secondary sense) have doors N. and S. (41<sup>11</sup>). The middle storey is reached by stairs in the right shoulder of the House, i.e. from the south passage of the Porch (1 K. 6<sup>3</sup>); the third storey by stairs in the N.E. corner, for 41<sup>7</sup> shows that the three storeys can be traversed in series.

The foundation of the (inner) House is 6 higher than that of the side chambers (41<sup>2</sup>: Kethibh = מִן־יִסְדֹּת).

In 41<sup>2</sup> read בֵּין for בֵּית, and begin the sentence there; so "between" rib and chamber, i.e. both together, measures 20 cubits, or 2 + 18: total length of side chambers 78, and 50 at west end.

The east part of the Sahrah is levelled up in two stages, 6 cubits above the drain (43<sup>12</sup>: read חֵיק הָאֲדָמָה ?). On it is the Altar; its highest part 12 square, with recesses (43<sup>16</sup>): a ledge for working is 14 square, 15 with its parapet (43<sup>17</sup>): outside is a drain with its border (43<sup>17</sup>): the whole possibly 20 square. The Altar is *not* in the centre of its court (40<sup>47</sup>); nor of the whole plan.

Buildings outside of the Altar-court are counted as in the *inner* court. They are not symmetrically arranged: three north, one south. Those of 42<sup>7</sup> and 42<sup>11</sup> are the same in plan, but not in orientation (the length of one as the breadth of the other) (42<sup>11</sup>). A "convenient passage" at the base of the foundation connects them (42<sup>13</sup>). The other two (שְׁתֵּי שָׁרִים for שְׁרִים 40<sup>44</sup>) are N.E.

The E. edge of the Inner Court is the edge of the present platform: from it, *not* from the inner gate, the 100 cubits of 40<sup>18</sup> are measured. The two north gates are not exactly opposite each other (40<sup>22</sup>).

The six Gates have these common features: An open space 37 × 25, with *three* flights of steps, because three thresholds or landings (40<sup>27</sup>). Steps 11 broad, flanked by small terraces (תִּנְאִים) level with upper landing. The 25 cubits of 40<sup>18</sup> are measured *on the slope*, from highest terrace to lowest, through the parapets. In 40<sup>14</sup>, <sup>15</sup>, "posts" are facing slabs (also in 40<sup>27</sup>). Then there is a covered passage 13 × 10; from the folding door to the inner face it is called the Porch, measuring 6 c., or 8 with its sideposts (40<sup>2</sup>, <sup>9</sup>, <sup>11</sup>).

Colonnades of the outer Court extend from gate to gate: none on the west. Behind them is "the lower pavement" (40<sup>18</sup>); its corners are the cooking courts (46<sup>22</sup>). Near each court is a block of halls, on the main level (40<sup>17</sup>): but that at the N.W. may be higher, on a pavement (42<sup>3</sup>). The colonnades are bent round these blocks.

The Inner Court has two sets of colonnades: on the outside of the wall which bounds the Altar-court (40<sup>22</sup>, <sup>23</sup>, <sup>24</sup>); and flanking the gates

(40<sup>36</sup>, <sup>31</sup> and <sup>32b</sup>, <sup>34</sup>). From the measures of the smaller set it is deduced that the pillars (or their bases) measure  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , the intercolumniations 5: this *may* apply to all. Instead of the latter, the North Gate has a wall with slabs (40<sup>37</sup>), behind which, on the W. side, is a washing place (40<sup>38</sup>): its tank is the cistern N. of the Sahrah.

The last words of 41<sup>18</sup> begin a brief account of the wooden linings. The panelling goes up to the windows, not to the roof as in Solomon's Temple. The difference is inevitable, unless the proportional height were changed: for 30 cubits with Ezekiel would equal 35 of Solomon's, and the King used the longest beams that could be got as ribs to carry his boarding.

11th October, 1909.

There were present 21 members.

A Scheme of Joint Study by groups of the members was arranged as follows:

Group I. Use of the Participle as a Tense.

„ II. Origin and value of the Karyan.

„ III. Transcription of parts of the Old Testament into early Semitic Characters and into Roll Form, with a view to the detection of Textual error.

„ IV. The use of the 2nd pers. sing. and the 2nd pers. plural of address in Is. xl.-lv. as a test of difference of authorship or of date or of conception.

„ V. The evidence that individual books of the LXX are the work of more than one translator.

„ VI. Panim.

„ VII. Reading of Arabic authors, etc.

The following papers were read: (1) "The Use of Artificial or Illustrative Numbers in the Old Testament," by the President. (2) "Blood Feud amongst the Semites," by Principal Alex. H. Harley, B.D.

# THE USE OF ARTIFICIAL OR ILLUSTRATIVE NUMBERS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY PROFESSOR W. B. STEVENSON, B.D., D.LITT.

It is a well-recognised fact that exact numbers are used in the Old Testament in a merely approximate way and that certain numbers are specially often so employed. An outstanding example of such numbers is 40. There can be little doubt that "40 years" is used much in the same way as our expression "a generation." Three of the six "major judges" have each a career which extends to 40 years, a fourth judges 80 years, and a fifth 20 years. If "40 years" is a generation, then 80 years is simply "two generations" and 20 years "half a generation."

An examination recently made of the numerical data of the Books of Joshua and Judges has suggested to me that the expression "approximate numbers" very imperfectly describes the character of the numbers of these books. The same numbers recur again and again. To a considerable extent they are relative to one another, and the conclusion seems to be that they rest on no historical tradition or observation of facts. They are the result of a concrete manner of speech and writing, and may be described as illustrative or pictorial numbers. Just as each writer has a style of his own, so his "pictorial numbers" may be to a certain extent his own. What follows is an analysis only of the usage of the books of Joshua and Judges.

In these books the prevalence of the numbers 3, 30, 300 and 3000 at once attracts notice. Three seems to be used where we would say "two or three," and thirty where we might say "a score." If so, 300 and 3000 may mean a hundred or two (thousand or two) or a few hundreds (thousands). Such a usage is highly probable in most of the following cases: Judg. xvii. 14, xix. 4; Josh. ii. 16, ix. 16 (all *three days*); Josh. xviii. 4 (*three men*); Judg. x. 4 (30 *sons* of Jair), xiv. 11 (30 *companions* of the bridegroom), xx. 39 (30 *men* killed), vii. 8 (Gideon's 300 *men*), xv. 14 (Samson's *foxes*), xv. 11, xvi. 27 (both 3000 *men*). Cf. Josh. vii. 4, "about 3000 men." In Judg. xi. 26, "300 years" may be regarded as an approximate calculation.

Ten is the starting point for another similar series, 10, 100, 1000. It is noteworthy, however, that in Joshua and Judges there is only one case of the use of ten (Judg. vi. 27, Gideon's *ten servants*), and one of 100 (Joshua xxiv. 32, a quotation from Genesis). But there are clear cases of the realistic or pictorial use of 1000 in Josh. xxiii. 10 ("one man shall chase a thousand") and Judges xv. 16 ("with the jaw bone of an ass I have slain 1000 men"). It is perhaps not too bold to assume that 1100 is an alternative for 1000 in Judges xvi. 15

and xvii. 2. As the number in both cases applies to a sum of money our "baker's dozen" (thirteen) may be mentioned as a parallel.

The use of seven will be commented on afterwards. Seventy is used as an intermediate between 30 and 100. *E.g.* Judg. i. 7 (70 *kings*), viii. 30 (70 *sons* of Gideon).

The possible series 6, 60, 600 and 6000 finds some illustration. Cf. Ruth iii. 15 (six measures of barley); Judges iii. 31 (Shamgar smote 600 *Philistines*), xviii. 11 (600 *Danites*), xx. 47 (600 *Benjamites*).

The numbers given as the strength of the armies whose battles are recorded are all to be regarded as merely illustrative. 10,000 appears to be taken as representing a normal army (Judg. i. 4, iii. 29, iv. 6; cf. vii. 3 and xx. 34). Three multiples of 10,000 also occur:  $4 \times 10,000$ ,  $12 \times 10,000$  and  $40 \times 10,000$ . Each of the multipliers, 4, 12 and 40 probably expresses a certain rounded completeness (see below). The multiples taken literally are all in excess of the numbers possible considering the size and population of the country. They are to be understood in the sense of "overwhelming force," "innumerable host," and "the whole fighting strength of the nation." The numbers 12,000, 22,000 and 42,000 may be related to 10,000, 20,000 and 40,000, as 1100 was to 1000. The analogy of 80 and 20 (derived from 40) allows us to interpret 5000 and 15,000 which both occur as parts of a larger force.

Judges, chap. xx., appears to the writer to supply an instructive and convincing illustration of the use of artificial numbers, which, however, cannot be worked out in this summary.

It is to be noted, in conclusion, that the use of the numbers 4, 7 and 12 is not merely pictorial. *Seven* had a sacred significance and a magical efficacy ("seven times" round Jericho; Samson's seven locks of hair). *Four* expressed completeness (hence Judg. xi. 40 and xix. 2), and may be supposed to have given something of its character to 40 also. *Twelve* had a similar character of completeness or perfection, but it is not used in the books here studied. It was probably also a unit of reckoning, and gives a possible explanation of 36 (Josh. vii. 5) and 12,000 (see, however, above).

## BLOOD-FEUD AMONG THE SEMITES.

BY PRINCIPAL ALEX. H. HARLEY, B.D.

THE feeling of kinship is the basis of the tribal system, kinsmen are "brothers" through their participation in a common blood. The social bond is enforced by the law of blood-revenge, and the necessity for revenge arises when any member has perished at the hand of one of another clan. If, however, one kinsman slay another, it is not cause

of blood-revenge, either he is outlawed or put to death by his group that it may rid itself of an impious member.

The custom was probably of a religious character. The members are one kin with their god, and his rights are violated by the murder of one of their number, and he requires of them revenge, on pain of his displeasure. Revenge is a sacred duty. Opinions are not unanimous, however, as to whether the custom dates its origin first from a time when men could conceive of covenant-relations with their god.

Only tribal life offers the necessary conditions for blood-revenge, viz. the solidarity of the tribe, and its autonomy. Tribal honour is always alert in pursuit of vengeance, and the vendetta does not always stop at the person of the murderer.

There is no impiety in slaying a member of another clan, but the murderer involves all his kinsmen in the consequences, for any member of the aggrieved group may retaliate on any member of the aggressor, and retaliation follow retaliation indefinitely. There is many a brave boast in Arabic literature of a heavy recompense for the loss of one member, but the principle of revenge is a life for a life.

*Responsibility.*—Responsibility became narrowed. The family, i.e. all the descendants of a great-great-grandfather, early began to enter as a unit into the reckoning, and the nearest relative became the proper person to undertake revenge, the brother and the son being under almost equal obligation. The clan assumed the duty only when the family could not from its weakness obtain vengeance. Now too it is observed that the avenger preferred to retaliate upon some person within the fifth degree of consanguinity.

*Modifications.*—A fugitive (Jār) from vengeance might flee for refuge to another tribe, and the protection thus given might be permanent and hereditary, or temporary or particularised against a certain danger. Or he might flee for asylum to certain sacred areas, e.g. the harām of Mekka, or pitch his tent over an ancestor's grave. Again, blood-revenge was prohibited during the four holy months of the Arabs.

*Blood-money.*—The right of blood-revenge was later among the Semites generally, the Hebrews being a notable exception, often commuted into a fine to be paid by the manslayer. The recipients were the nearest relatives of the murdered man, his brother and his son therefore.

The passage from nomadic to agricultural settled life saw a weakening of the feeling of blood-community, and the gradual institution of state-tribunals for the decision of suits. The law-codes of the Hebrews represent an intermediate stage between the primitive custom of direct vengeance and the criminal proceedings of state-life.

The modern Bedawi has preserved the nomadic institutions of the tribal system, including the Blood-Feud, from the transforming influence Islam would otherwise have exercised. He does not yet distinguish between murder and homicide.

*25th April, 1910.*

At this meeting 16 members and 2 visitors were present. It was agreed to continue the Arabic Prize for another year.

It was reported that the work of Group III. was in the meantime suspended, and that the following Groups had been added :

Group VIII. Causes of the presence of the word IHWH in the Elohist Psalms (xlii.-lxxxiii.).

„ IX. The distinctive Old Testament names for the Northern and Southern Kingdoms ; History of the National Names Israel and Jacob.

The following papers were read : (1) "The Code of Hammurabi and Israelitish Legislation," by Mr. J. R. Buchanan, B.D. (2) "Hebrew and Babylonian Psalms," by Rev. A. C. Baird, B.D., B.Sc. (3) Report on the study of Group IV. by Rev. S. F. Hunter, M.A., "Use of 2nd pers. sing. and 2nd pers. plur. of Address in Isaiah xl.-lv."

#### THE CODE OF HAMMURABI AND ISRAELITISH LEGISLATION: A COMPARISON OF THE CIVIL CODES IN BABYLONIA AND ISRAEL.

BY MR. J. ROBERTSON BUCHANAN, B.D.

I. *Introduction.* Law takes its rise in custom based on experience. The Code of Hammurabi marks the close of a long development, a gathering up of customs, and the promulgation of the same authoritatively ; in Israel the Mosaic Laws likewise presuppose traditional usages, but here we have not one Code of Laws, due to a single promulgation, as in the case of the Code of Hammurabi, but different Codes originating at different times.

Hammurabi brought into being the Babylonian Empire by uniting Northern and Southern Babylonia under one sovereignty (c. 2250 B.C.). He devoted himself to the development of the country not only externally by foreign conquest, but also and especially internally by capable and beneficent administration.

## II. *The Code.*

- (a) Prologue—titles and deeds of Hammurabi ;
- (b) Main Provisions—§§ 1-282 ;
- (c) Epilogue—blessings and curses.

### (b) Provisions *re*

- (1) Family.—Basis of family was marriage ; conditions of divorce ; polygamy permitted but infidelity severely punished ; laws of inheritance ; wife got a settlement or a child's share besides her marriage-portion ; estate was, as a rule, divided equally among the sons ; adoption of children also in vogue.
- (2) Property Rights.—Three classes (a) landowners and upper class ; (b) free-men ; (c) male and female slaves ; (b) and (c) could acquire property ; business carried on by deed or bond before witnesses ; regulations for proper use and care of land, goods, and animals.
- (3) Criminal Law.—*Jus talionis* rules throughout.
- (4) Legal Procedure.—Administration of the law was in the hands of the priests, who, as judges, were assisted by officers or assessors, often the elders of the city ; final appeal could be made to the king.

III. *Comparison* with early Israelitish Legislation, esp., Book of the Covenant (Ex. 20<sup>11</sup>-23<sup>23</sup>), but cf. also Deuteronomic Code (Deut. 12-26, 28), and Law of Holiness (Lev. 17-26).

Tables of parallel passages in Book of the Covenant and Code of Hammurabi, with related passages in Deuteronomy and Law of Holiness.

IV. *Result.* Both systems show prevalence of *jus talionis*, and give prominence to the needs of agriculture and the protection of the person, but the Babylonian system—even in these spheres—gives a fuller and more thorough treatment than the Israelitish, besides showing a great advance in social organisation, as in the regulations for trade and commerce, which hardly find any parallels in the early legislation of Israel.

Extent of resemblances and differences. How are these to be explained ? It is not enough to speak of general influence of Babylonian culture. Can we point to any time before the exile when the Code was known in Israel ?

Laws about purely Babylonian matters have no weight either for



or against independence of early Israelitish legislation ; also the common practices underlying both legislations are common Semitic property, and do not prove dependence of Israel on Babylonia ; but where the same topics are treated, differences, though they do not in themselves prove that the one system was unknown to the other, do show that the one was no mere copy of the other under altered conditions, but so far independent. Whether the Israelitish legislators had the Code of Hammurabi before them we cannot positively say.

The Book of the Covenant seems rather to show that they had not, but the setting of Deuteronomy—the historical introduction and the blessings and curses at the end—would rather point to a knowledge of the Babylonian Code. We may speak of an indirect connection. The resemblances and differences lead us to infer an independent recension of ancient custom influenced by Babylonian law. Babylonia made its contribution to existing law, and later we have the reflex of that influence—Semitic and Babylonian—in early Israelitish law.

#### HEBREW AND BABYLONIAN PSALMS : A COMPARISON.

By REV. A. C. BAIRD, B.D., B.Sc.

THE Babylonian liturgical literature may be divided into three classes (1) Incantations ; (2) Hymns and Prayers in adoration of the gods ; (3) Penitential Psalms and Prayers.

I. The first of these—magical incantations—have no counterpart in the sacred literature of the Hebrews. Their purpose was to exorcise evil spirits and to heal sickness and disease. The one essential in all of them seems to have been that the recital of the formula must be word-perfect, or it must be done all over again. A survival in Christian times of similar use of prayers as incantations seems to be found in the more superstitious parts of Italy and the Tyrol.

II. Hymns and Prayers in adoration of the gods. These Babylonian Psalms show in aim and purpose, in external form, in content and expression, distinct resemblances to the Hebrew Psalter. Like the latter, the Babylonian Hymns bear evidence of having been composed to be set to music—an art highly developed in early Babylonian times, as seen from numerous sculptures of musicians with different musical instruments. The harp, the zither, the cymbals, the flute, and most interesting of all “ the ten-stringed ” instrument are all found on monuments from Telloh dating about 2000 B.C.

There is the closest parallel in the metrical form of the Psalms of the Hebrews and of the Babylonians. In both is found the same

principle of balance and parallelism of the two members of each verse—the same combination of two or three such verses to form a strophe. And although our knowledge of the principles governing ancient Babylonian rhythm is far too vague and indefinite to admit of detailed comparison, the general principle may be confirmed by such quotations from Babylonian sources as follows :

“ In heaven—who is exalted ? Thou alone art exalted.

On earth—who is exalted ? Thou alone art exalted.

Thy word goeth forth in the heavens, and the choirs of heaven bow themselves low.

Thy word goeth forth on earth, and the angels kiss the ground.

Thy word goeth forth like a storm-wind ; it gives food and drink in luxurious fulness.

Thy word resounds upon earth, and the green grass sprouts forth.

Thy word makes fat stall and herd ; it increaseth all wherein is breath.

Thy word creates righteousness ; it proclaims justice to mankind.

Thy word is like the far-off heavens and the wide earth : no one can penetrate it.

Thy word—who can grasp it ? Who can stand against it ?

Lord, in heaven is thy sovereignty, on earth is thy sovereignty.

Among the gods, thy brothers, there is none like thee, O King of kings, who hast no judge superior to him, whose divinity is not surpassed by any other.”

Compare with the above, *e.g.* Ps. 147.

Responsive Psalms were also known to the Babylonians and Assyrians, and among the religious texts which have been translated are a number of service books in which alternate paragraphs were to be recited by priest and penitent somewhat in the fashion of a Litany. This form of parallelism and responsive reading is probably to be traced to the magical incantations out of which it is evident the Babylonian Psalter arose. Examples of similar responsive Psalms in the Old Testament are to be found in Pss. 24, 8, 15, 20.

The resemblance between the Hebrew and Babylonian Psalms is not confined to rhythm and external form, but they show striking similarity in thought and religious feeling. Even their polytheistic conceptions, from which the Babylonian religion was never rid, do not prevent these Psalms from having a deep spiritual content. Many of them are expressions of adoration telling forth the power and greatness of the god in subduing the powers of nature. Some are prayers that the anger of the god may be appeased and that he will grant the suppliants peace and rest. Others are songs of thanksgiving, praising the gods as the source of light and blessing to mankind.

III. But it is above all in the Babylonian Penitential Psalms that the closest parallelism to the Hebrew becomes apparent. In these old

Sumerian hymns, thoughts familiar to us are continually recurring. The penitent complains of the torments of body and soul to which he has been condemned through his transgressions. "Out of the depths he cries"; "he is sunk deep in the mire"; "his enemies surround him round about"; "he goeth mourning as one bereft of mother and brother"; "he is withered up"; "he cries like a pelican in the wilderness and mourns like a dove"; "his heart throbs wildly and loudly"; "his soul descends into Sheol and is surrounded by the shades of death."

Compare, *e.g.*, Psalms 6 and 88 with the Babylonian hymn known as IV. R. 60, part of which is translated as follows :

"A prison has my house become,  
My arms are beaten into the ligaments of my flesh.  
The whole day long, the pursuer follows me.  
Even in the night he leaves me not a minute free to breathe.  
My joints are torn and pulled asunder.  
My members do melt away, and are brought low.  
No god helped me, no god took me by the hand.  
No goddess had mercy on me, or came to my side.  
The grave stood open, they began to entomb me.  
Before I was dead, they began the mourning wail for me.  
They called upon the worms to be my destroyers.  
Mine adversary heard it, his eye sparkled.  
My weakness gave him joy, his temper beamed forth."

Sometimes the penitent addresses his god anonymously, and his prayer then becomes the outpouring of a penitent soul and a prayer for forgiveness. Compare the following with the characteristic thoughts of the Hebrew Psalmists :

"O my god, who art angry, accept my prayer.

O my goddess, who art angry, receive my supplication.

Receive my supplication and let my spirit be at rest. O my goddess look with pity on me and let my sins be forgiven. Let my transgressions be blotted out. Let the ban be torn away, let the bonds be loosened. Let the seven winds carry away my sighs. I will rend away my wickedness, let the bird bear it to the heavens. Let the fish carry off my misery, let the river sweep it away. Let the beast of the field take it from me. Let the flowing waters of the river wash me clean."

The Babylonian penitent like the Hebrew resorted to fasting and hardship as penance for sin, and many of their prayers seem designed to excite the pity of the god when he beheld the misery of the penitent. All the Babylonian penitential psalms bear the stamp of having been in the first instance the outpouring of the heart of the individual ;

but gradually as they were introduced into the temple ritual they lost their intensely personal character, and like the Psalms of David, they were taken to represent the penance of the whole community of worshippers.

It has been said that the ethics of the Babylonian Psalms are much inferior to those of the Hebrew Psalter, but there is in reality a very close parallel in ethical ideas in the sacred books of the two peoples. The root ethical principle of them all is the belief that sin is the cause of all suffering and misery among men, and that only by penance and prayer can the wrath of God be appeased and the punishment of sin averted.

The Hebrew Psalter contains many Babylonian mythological references—legal formulae and historical references which would seem to show that its authors were acquainted with the Babylonian sacred books. What conclusions then are to be drawn from these facts? Three suggestions have been made to account for the close parallelism to Babylonian thought and form in the Hebrew Psalms: (1) It has been thought that the Babylonian and Hebrew peoples being so closely akin to each other in race and language would be sufficient to account for the resemblance in their liturgical literature. But this theory fails to explain the presence of Babylonian myths in Old Testament Psalms, and also the parallelism of Psalms which resemble each other, word for word, idea for idea, as well as in style and rhythm. (2) The theory has been propounded, notably by Prof. Hugo Winckler, that many of the Babylonisms in the Old Testament are to be explained by the fact that the Israelitish race was really composite, containing a Babylonian element which is represented in the Genesis narrative by the story of Abraham. This Babylonian stock in the Hebrew people would naturally preserve their legends, myths, religious beliefs and ritual, and so some of the Hebrew Psalms may be of very ancient date and written by descendants of the 'Abraham' or Babylonian section of the people. But Winckler's theory is not sufficiently warranted by historical evidence to gain much support, though it fits all the facts.

(3) Professor Fr. Delitzsch thinks that all the Psalms in which notable similarity to Babylonian hymns can be traced should be dated at the time of the Exile or after it. And he would, therefore, conclude that such Psalms as the 'Songs of Degrees' were Hebrew copies of Babylonian originals made by the priests on the return from Babylon. But whatever view we take, it would appear that we must give the people of Babylon a share in the formation of the Hebrew Psalter, and that in the Psalms of our Bible we are heirs not only to the deep religious fervour of the chosen people, but also to all that was of lasting value in the great civilisation of the peoples of Sumer and of Accad which preceded them.

## THE SECOND PERSON SINGULAR AND SECOND PERSON PLURAL OF ADDRESS IN ISAIAH 40-55.

*Preface.*

DURING the past twenty years Old Testament scholars in their work on the prophets, slowly and without any clear perception of their progress, yet surely and more and more definitely, have approached the conclusion that the "writings" of the prophets as a species of literature are most truly defined as collections of their sayings or records of their utterances, or as, in each case, the "remains" of the life of a public orator. A statement of this point of view by the present writer will be found in the *Expositor* for 1902, and before then and since he has found it to be a veritable pathfinder in all his work on the exposition and criticism of the prophets. Cheyne's masterly *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah* (1895) was one of the earliest books to expound and apply this view consistently, although only in the case of one prophetic "writing" (Isaiah, chs. 1-39) and without emphasising the novelty and far-reaching significance of the underlying conception. Even yet the treatment of the prophets has very much to gain from a thoroughgoing and conscious acceptance of the view that their "writings" are literally a congeries of short, disconnected, imperfectly arranged "oracles," presumably, in most cases, the fragmentary prophecies of a lifetime as distinct from "books," which might embody the revelations of an afternoon or the literary work of their author for a few weeks or months. On this view it is no longer needful to delete passages because they do not harmonise (obviously or closely) with their immediate context, nor to strain our interpretations in order to secure agreement with contexts which are no contexts. Every fresh topic, every break in the literary unity calls us to consider whether we are not passing to a fresh "oracle," separated in point of its original date by years, it may be, from what precedes and follows.

Amongst all the prophetic books of the Old Testament, Isaiah 40-55 has probably been least affected by this new conception. And yet in it the present writer believes himself to have found a most convincing and illuminating example of the species of literature just described. Although his results have not yet been published he thought himself justified in recommending Mr. S. F. Hunter to adopt his analysis of these chapters in the discussion which follows, and accordingly supplied him with the information which is assumed in the opening paragraph. The value of Mr. Hunter's elaborate and successful investigation probably does not depend on the assumption

with which it starts. But the justification of the form in which it is cast depends on the soundness of the view here maintained.

A few sentences may be added in explanation of the question which was proposed to Mr. Hunter for examination. Somewhere the present writer once read a suggestion that the changing use of the second person singular and the second person plural of address indicated a difference of authorship or origin in the sections where they appear in Isaiah 40-55, and that this change of use might be taken as a clue in the analysis of these chapters, as it has been in the case of the book of Deuteronomy. Probably the author of this suggestion started from what the writer regards as an erroneous view of the literary character of these chapters. Further, it appeared, and still appears to him, that the prophetic utterances which they contain, apart at most from the "Servant passages," are demonstrably the utterances of one prophet and reflect the circumstances of a single period. Still, it remained to investigate what is the meaning of the frequent transition from the second singular to the second plural of address in these utterances. Can any principle be discovered which explains the use of the one and the other? To this Mr. Hunter gives a definite answer, and supports it by evidence from other parts of the Old Testament. The singular is used when the address is to Jacob or Israel and to Zion or Jerusalem, the plural is used elsewhere in addressing the exiled people, including the cases in which "house of Jacob" (46<sup>2</sup>, 48<sup>1</sup>), "seed of Jacob" (45<sup>19</sup>) and "remnant of the house of Israel" (46<sup>3</sup>) are the vocatives employed. Cf. also 45<sup>26</sup>, where "seed of Israel" occurs with a plural verb in the third person.

It may be added that Mr. Hunter's paper has been published in full and that the proof has been corrected by the author of this preface, to whom the annotations in square brackets are due. Of the 20 singular and 19 plural passages alluded to in paragraph 2 (below), only 15 (? 17) and 12 (or 13) are explicitly registered in the detailed lists as given in Mr. Hunter's manuscript. Unfortunately the tables to which reference is made have not come to hand in time for printing, but it has been thought best to leave the references to them as they stand.

WM. B. STEVENSON.

GLASGOW, 29th January, 1913.

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ISAIAH 40-55 consists of a number of oracles, 55 according to our analysis, delivered at different times to different people, but all bearing on the deliverance of Israel from exile. Some are in the 2nd

person, addressed to particular persons, named in most of these oracles. In others no one is specifically addressed, but certain names are mentioned in the 3rd person. Fifty-two oracles are in the 2nd person addressed to (1) the Exiles; (2) the nations of the world of men; (3) Cyrus; (4) the heathen Deities; (5) Babylon (ch. 47); (6) the prophets; (7) the world of nature; (8) the Arm of the Lord. The three others are: (1) 44<sup>2-10</sup>, a prose passage on idolatry; (2) 46<sup>1-3</sup> on the humiliation of Bel and Nebo; (3) 42<sup>14-17</sup>, the battle Song of Jehovah (in which Jehovah speaks in the first person). In addition there are four recognised Servant passages and also a passage not hitherto recognised as such, 51<sup>4-6</sup>, which seems to belong to that group.

The 52 2nd personal oracles may be classified in various ways. For present purposes we may adopt a division into (1) 39 oracles spoken to the Exiles and (2) 13 spoken to the others mentioned above. Of these we are concerned only with those spoken to the Exiles. In 20 of them the Exiles are addressed in the 2nd person singular and in 19 in the 2nd person plural. A table showing the analysis of the chapters is appended (*Table 1*).

On a first reading there seems a little confusion in places between the singular and plural forms of address, but this can easily be rectified. A table of passages critically examined is appended (*Table 2*).

A word may be said here about the combination of these oracles and the Servant passages into one whole by the editor. He found them lying loose, and was guided by 'key words' or 'key ideas.' *E.g.* 42<sup>14</sup> reads: 'I will bring *the blind* by a way they knew not.' This occurs in the Battle Song. Then we proceed to a 2nd person plural passage, 'Hear ye deaf, and look ye *blind*,' ch. 42<sup>14</sup>. This again leads in v. 18 to an interpolated reference to the Servant. Other key words are 'redeem,' 'Cyrus,' 'seed.'

Two tables (4 and 5) are appended in which the singular and plural passages are examined separately that we might find their characteristics. There are four points of inquiry, regarding (1) the name of those addressed; (2) the name of God; (3) the character of God; and (4) other data. [Only the first of these yields positive results and it principally is discussed in what follows.]

I. In the singular passages the following are the forms of address:

1. O Jacob, O Israel (40<sup>27-31</sup>: 43<sup>1-7</sup>: 43<sup>22-26</sup>).
2. Israel my Servant and Jacob whom I have chosen, the Seed of Abraham my friend. Worm Jacob, maggot Israel (41<sup>1-26</sup>).
3. Jacob my Servant and Israel whom I have chosen... Jeshurun (44<sup>1-3</sup>).

4. O Jacob and Israel, for thou art my servant : Thou art my servant, O Israel (44<sup>21-22</sup>).
5. O Jacob and Israel my called (48<sup>12-13</sup>).

Then follows a series of oracles from the 49th to the 54th chapters, in which the city Jerusalem is addressed.

6. Zion (49<sup>14-21</sup>), city, 49<sup>22-26</sup>, with no name of address.
7. Jerusalem (city), 51<sup>17-23</sup>.
8. O Zion—O Jerusalem the holy city : O captive daughter of Zion (to the Exile), 52<sup>1-2</sup>.
9. O Barren (to the city), 54<sup>1-10</sup>. [? two passages.]
10. O afflicted, tempest-tossed, disconsolate (to the city), 54<sup>11-17</sup>.
11. There are also passages in which there is no form of address, but in which the addressed one is referred to as
  - (a) Obstinate . . . transgressor from the womb (48<sup>2-11</sup>). [? two passages.]
  - (b) Him whom man despiseth . . . him whom the nation abhorreth, a servant of rulers (49<sup>7-12</sup>).

In summing up note two points :

- (1) The use of the names *Jacob* and *Israel*.
- (2) „ „ *Zion* and *Jerusalem*.

*Jacob* and *Israel* are used only in these singular passages and with masculine singular construction. *Zion* and *Jerusalem* are feminine singular. *Zion* and *Jerusalem* refer not to the people but to the city (cf. 44<sup>22</sup>). The population is once referred to as the 'captive daughter of Zion,' 52<sup>2</sup>.

II. In the plural passages the following are the forms of address :

1. My witnesses and my servants (servant, LXX and M.T.) whom I have chosen (43<sup>8-12</sup>).
2. Ye are my witnesses (44<sup>6-9</sup>).
3. O House of Jacob and all the remnant of the House of Israel (46<sup>8-12</sup>).
4. O ye transgressors (46<sup>8-12</sup>).
5. Ye stout-hearted that are far from righteousness (46<sup>8-12</sup>).
6. O House of Jacob, which are called by the name of Israel (48<sup>1-2</sup>) (probably 'O House of Jacob' only is genuine).
7. Ye that follow after righteousness (51<sup>1-2</sup>).
8. Ye that know righteousness (51<sup>7-9</sup>). [? cont. of No. 7.]
9. The thirsty, the wicked, etc., in ch. 55. [three passages.]



10. In some oracles the Exiles are *referred* to in the third person [and the address is not always certainly *to* them. In (b), (c) and (d) there is no vocative of address defining who are spoken to].
- (a) 'Who gave Jacob for a spoil and Israel to the robber?' (42<sup>18-22</sup>). Even here 'Jacob' and 'Israel' are singular in idea. 'Therefore He poured upon *him* the fury of His anger.' [Those addressed are 'ye deaf... ye blind,' possibly the heathen.]
  - (b) 'My people, my chosen, the people whom I formed for myself'—singular terms with plural meaning—'that *they* may set forth my praise' (43<sup>16-21</sup>; 52<sup>8-9</sup>).
  - (c) My Exiles (45<sup>7-13</sup>).
  - (d) The Lord hath redeemed His servant Jacob (48<sup>20-21</sup>).
  - (e) I appoint in Zion deliverance (46<sup>8-13</sup>). The Lord hath comforted Zion (51<sup>1-3</sup>). [Cf. (3) and (b) above.]

In summing up note :

1. The name 'Jacob' or 'Israel' is not used in address, but twice 'the House of Jacob' and once 'the remnant of the House of Israel.'
2. 'Jacob' and 'Israel' occur in the 3rd person in a difficult passage with a singular reference. Note also His *Servant* Jacob.

In the oracles addressed to others than the Exiles, the Exiles are mentioned :

- (1) With singular construction they are called 'Jacob' or 'Israel,' 'Jacob my servant,' and 'Israel my chosen.'
- (2) With plural reference they are called 'the blind,' 'my sons,' 'the seed of Jacob,' 'the seed of Israel.'

Now we have seen

- (1) That Jacob and Israel are used only with a singular reference, *i.e.* when the people are taken as a unit.
- (2) 'House of Jacob' and 'House of Israel,' or rather 'the remnant of the House of Israel,' are used with a plural reference.
- (3) Where 'the seed of Jacob' and 'the seed of Israel' are referred to, the construction is plural.

Now what is the usage elsewhere in the Old Testament ?

- (1) *Jacob is invariably addressed in the sing. masculine.*
  - (a) Num. 24<sup>5</sup>; (b) Ps. 24<sup>6</sup>; (c) Jer. 30<sup>18</sup> (46<sup>27</sup>); (d) Micah 2<sup>12-13</sup>; (e) 6 times in Deut.-Isaiah.

2. *Israel is invariably addressed in the sing. masculine.*  
(a) Ex. 32<sup>a</sup>; (b) Nu. 24<sup>a</sup>, D. 4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, etc, 1 K., 12<sup>a</sup>, Jer. 4<sup>1</sup>, Hosea 14<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>, 10<sup>a</sup>, Ps. 115<sup>a</sup>.
3. *House of Jacob is usually plural.*  
Exod. 19<sup>a</sup>, Isa. 2<sup>a</sup>, Jer. 2<sup>a</sup>, Obad. 17, 18 (Micah 2<sup>a</sup> is doubtful).
4. *House of Israel is usually plural, and so is יִשְׂרָאֵל (remnant).*  
When Jacob, etc., are spoken of in the 3rd person the usage varies, but *Jacob and Israel* are in nearly every case singular. These usages agree with the usage in Deut.-Isaiah.
5. *Jerusalem is always singular* (Jer. 2<sup>a</sup>, Ps. 147<sup>13</sup>).
6. *Zion is always singular* (Ps. 147<sup>13</sup>, Zeph. 3<sup>13</sup>, Zech. 2<sup>17</sup> (Exiles) 9<sup>13</sup>).

There is no distinction in the conception of God in any of these oracles. The particular conception suits the message. In the 'trial passages,' Jehovah is the Creator of the universe and the arbiter of destiny. History is the record of His will. He is contrasted with the gods. So in both the sing. and plural oracles to the Exiles, He is the Holy One of Israel, Jehovah, the Redeemer, God of Israel, Saviour, etc.

Nor can one say there is much difference between the messages. They all deal with the deliverance of Israel and, in an effort to date them, both sing. and plur. seemed to refer to the same time. One finds a sing. very early and another late. Both sing. and plur. refer to the release; both promise freedom. Cyrus is mentioned in both a sing. and a plural oracle.

There are some singular passages which deal with the sin and forgiveness of Israel (42<sup>25</sup>, 43<sup>22-28</sup>, 44<sup>21</sup>, 48<sup>3-11</sup>, 48<sup>17-20</sup>, etc.), but some plur. passages refer to the sinners of Israel.

In some plural passages a distinction can be seen between faithful and unfaithful, hopeful and despondent in Israel. But cases occur when the whole people is meant, yet the plural is used (48<sup>20</sup>).

The final question is, therefore, what accounts for the variations between sing. and plural?

1. There is nothing to prove difference in authorship.
2. There is a difference in the meaning of the forms of address.

Omitting the references to Zion and Jerusalem which refer to the city, Jacob and Israel are the names of the people as a whole, a unit. They are thus the names used in the singular passages. The plural passages denote in some cases a differentiation in Israel, in others the Exiles are regarded as a number of individuals.

S. F. HUNTER.

10th October, 1910.

Members present, 22.

It was agreed to suspend the giving of the Arabic Prize. The hope was expressed that as Arabic is now the subject of a recognised Lectureship in the University, the authorities would make provision for Prizes in this subject.

At this meeting it was unanimously declared that the Constitution of the Society does not exclude lady members.

The following papers were read : (1) "The Beginnings of Hebrew Study in Scotland," by Rev. Prof. Kennedy, D.D. (2) "Some Observations on a Recent Visit to Palestine," by Rev. George Anderson, D.D.

## THE BEGINNINGS OF HEBREW STUDY IN SCOTLAND.

BY PROFESSOR A. R. S. KENNEDY, D.D., OF EDINBURGH  
UNIVERSITY.

THE Old Testament in the original was a sealed book to the theologians of the Middle Ages. The study of Hebrew by Christians is one of the many fruits of the Revival of Learning in the fifteenth century. Apart from a tentative essay by Conrad Pellican in 1504, the first serious Hebrew work from the pen of a Christian scholar was John Reuchlin's *Rudimenta Linguae Hebraicae una cum Lexico*, published at Pforzheim in 1506.

The Reformation gave a new impulse to the study of Hebrew. Foremost among the continental Hebraists of the time stands Sebastian Muenster (1489-1552), a pupil of Reuchlin and of the liberal-minded Jewish scholar Elias Levita. In addition to editing the O.T. in Hebrew with a Latin translation, Muenster published in 1537 a new and revised edition of Reuchlin's *Grammar and Lexicon*. In the preface to another of his works he proudly claims to be the third Christian, after Pellican and Reuchlin, "to cultivate and propagate the Hebrew tongue."

The first to teach Hebrew publicly in Britain was apparently Robert Wakefield (also a pupil of Reuchlin), who, after teaching for at least six years in Cambridge, was appointed in 1530 to the first Hebrew chair founded in this country, that of the University of Oxford.

To pass now to Scotland, we find the grandson of John Row, the well-known Scottish reformer, claiming for the latter that he "was the man that first brought the Hebrew letters to Scotland." This claim is endorsed by Thomas M'Crie, the biographer of Knox and Melville, who writes: "The first school for teaching the Hebrew Language in Scotland"—the reference is to the Grammar School of Perth—"was opened immediately after the establishment of the Protestant Church. Hebrew was one of the branches of education appointed by the Book of Discipline to be taught in the Reformed Seminaries, and Providence had furnished a person well qualified for that task, which those who filled the chairs in our Universities were totally unfit to undertake. The person to whom I refer was John Row."

In 1560 Row became minister of Perth, in the Grammar School of which city he at once began to teach the Hebrew language, having learned it in his student days at the University of Padua (see M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, p. 442, note PP "Of John Row and the Introduction of Hebrew Literature into Scotland").

About the year 1567 James Lawson, who also had learned Hebrew on the Continent, was invited by the authorities of St. Andrews University to give lessons in that language, and was thus probably the first to teach Hebrew within a Scottish University.

A greater name in the history of Scottish learning than either of these now claims our attention, that marvellous genius Andrew Melville. In 1564 Melville left Scotland for the University of Paris, where he studied Hebrew, "whereupon he was specialie sett," and the cognate tongues under Mercier and Cinq-arbres, both of whom were scholars of the highest repute. From Paris Melville went to Poitiers, and thence to Geneva, leaving behind him "buiks and all, and carrying nathing with him but a *little Hebrew Byble* in his belt." In Geneva he attended the lectures of Cornelius Bertram in the "Hebrew Chaldaick and Syriack languages." He returned to Scotland in 1574.

James Melville tells how his uncle taught him Latin and Greek, "and last entering to the Hebrew I gat the reiding, declynations and pronouns, and sum also of the conjugations out of Martinus Grammar quhilk he haid with him, and schew me the use of the Dictionair also quhilk he had of Reuchlin's with him. And all this as it were bot playing and craking"!!

This is the first mention known to me of the text-books in use in Scotland at this early date. The Grammar of Pierre Martin, or Martinus, was evidently a favourite text-book, to judge from the numerous copies and editions of it in our University Libraries, and from the appearance of an English translation by John Udall in 1620. The lexicon used by Melville was doubtless the small lexicon of

Anthony Reuchlin, edited by Lucas Osiander, and published in Bâle in 1569.

In 1574 Andrew Melville was appointed to the Principalship of Glasgow University. From his nephew's autobiography we learn something of his method of teaching. "The Hebrew language," to quote M'Crie's summary, "he taught first more cursorily by going over the elementary work of Martinus, and afterwards by a more accurate examination of its principles, accompanied with a Praxis upon the Psalter and Books of Solomon. He then initiated the students into Chaldee and Syriac, reading those parts of the books of Ezra and Daniel that are written in Chaldee and the Epistle to the Galatians in the Syriac Version." The same methods were pursued by Melville after his transference to St. Andrews. His successors in Glasgow, Smeton, Boyd of Trochrigg, and John Cameron were all Hebrew scholars, and worthily maintained the reputation of Glasgow University as the principal school of "Semitics" in the country.

Marischal College, Aberdeen, was founded in 1593, and Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac occupy the first place in the list of subjects which the Principal and Masters were required to teach. The first chair exclusively devoted to "Oriental Languages" was founded in the University of Edinburgh in 1642. The corresponding chair in Glasgow dates from 1709.

Perhaps the most surprising fact in the history of the beginnings of Hebrew study in Scotland is the extent to which the language was taught and studied in the *Grammar and Parish Schools* of the country. Such were the Grammar Schools of Perth and Glasgow, the High School of Edinburgh, the Parish Schools of Haddington, Prestonpans, and Dunbar. No doubt others could be added to this list.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the first Hebrew Grammar published in Scotland was prepared for the pupils of a provincial school. Its author was John Row, the son of the historian and grandson of the reformer of the same name, then Rector of the Grammar School of Perth. Row, however, was not the first Scotsman who essayed to write on the mysteries of the sacred tongue. This honour belongs apparently to William Symson, minister of Dumbarton, who published in London, in 1617, a small octavo with the title, "*De Accentibus Hebraicis breves et perspicue Regulae*" (Scott's *Fasts*, iii. 338).

About 1640 John Row was called to the pastorate of St. Nicholas Church, Aberdeen. Later he became Principal of King's College there. On the 25th November, 1642, the Town Council of Aberdeen thought "it meit and expedient that ane Ebro lesson be teachit weeklie in the colledge of this burgh," and appointed "Master John Row" as teacher. Two years later, in 1644, he published his

Grammar, which had been in manuscript since 1637. The title page runs thus :

HEBRÆÆ / LINGUÆ IN/stitutiones compen/diosissimæ & facilli/mæ, in Discipulorum gra/tiam primum concinnatæ/. . . A M. IOA. ROW, tunc Moderatore/Scholæ Perthanæ ; nunc vero Ec/clesiæ Aberdonensis Pastore/. GLASGUÆ/ Excudebat Georgius Andersonus/ Anno partus Salutiferi/. . . 1644. With the Grammar is bound up XIAIAΣ HEBRAICA : seu VOCABVLARIUM, etc., a vocabulary of 1000 Hebrew roots arranged alphabetically with an index of proper names, the whole forming a small duodecimo volume of 124 + 160 pages. In 1646 the General Assembly passed an Act recommending the works of John Row for general use in the Church.

Seven years later appeared *Appendix Practica ad Joannis Buxtorfi Epitomen Grammaticæ Hebrææ*, Edinburgh excudebat Andreas Anderson, 1653, by Robert Baillie, one of the Professors of Divinity in Glasgow University, where he gave "a long lesson" in Hebrew "on Thursdays." The lengthy preface to the "Appendix" is a document of great value for the condition of Semitic studies in Scotland in the middle of the seventeenth century.

It may be added that George Anderson, the first Scottish printer apparently to possess a fount of Hebrew type, began to print in Edinburgh "within King James his College in 1637-38." In the latter year he removed to Glasgow, where he died in 1647. Two years later his widow and family returned to Edinburgh, where, as has been said, his son Andrew printed Baillie's "Appendix."

## SOME IMPRESSIONS OF A VISIT TO THE HOLY LAND, MARCH AND APRIL, 1910.

BY REV. GEO. ANDERSON, D.D.

THE writer of the paper remarked that one of the most interesting incidents of his stay in Palestine was his visit to the Samaritan Synagogue at Nablous. The Samaritans of the present day are but a small remnant numbering probably about 160. The High Priest, to whom he was introduced, had been a tall man, but now bowed down with the weight of years. His features were strikingly Jewish. He was dressed in a white robe, not unlike a surplice, and wore a red turban. It was learned that the office is hereditary and that the Mosaic festivals are still observed. The two copies of the Pentateuch were shown with great reverence. They are in roll form and the writing is on parchment. There are no vowel signs nor accents. Owing to limited character of the examination nothing could be

judged as to the age, but the impression was that its date lay well within Christian times.

One of the objects of the writer's visit to the East was to enquire regarding Mission property. This involved a brief study of what in Arabic is termed *WAKF* and applied to property dedicated to a religious or benevolent purpose. The religious designation may be Jewish, Mohammedan, or Christian; the law in this matter recognising no difference. The term means stationary, or permanent, and indicates that the property can no longer change hands in the ordinary way of buying and selling for commercial profit. According to Moslem law such property can be dealt with only so that the original purpose is in some way preserved. Such property may be sold in part or whole, or let, but the proceeds must be used in accordance with the original dedication.

Several places were visited where excavation work was being carried on, as at Jerusalem and its neighbourhood, Jericho, Samaria, and the shores of the Sea of Galilee. Much research has recently been made in the Siloam Valley, and it is expected that soon many points of great historic interest will be determined, such as the course of the City walls at various periods, and consequently the position of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre. The writer of the paper indicated that he had been strongly impressed by the evidence in favour of the "Garden Tomb" adjacent to the skull-shaped hill to the north of the city. At Jericho no excavation work was actually being carried on at the time of the visit, but what has already been laid bare at Tell es Sultan, above Ain es Sultan, rather more than a mile to the north of the present hamlet of Jericho, makes the identification practically certain. Almost complete buildings as well as pottery fragments of a pre-Israelitish age have been found here, and the various strata of successive periods can be distinctly traced. At Samaria the most recent discoveries belong to the Herodian and Roman period, but earlier things have been found, though none apparently going further back than the time of Omri, thus giving striking confirmation of the Scripture history. The sites of Kan Minyeh and Tell Hum, on the shores of Galilee, were visited. While it is certain that further excavations will bring evidence to light that will determine which is the site of Capernaum, in the meantime the remains of a very notable synagogue at Tell Hum seem to turn the balance in favour of this place.

One of the things that strike a visitor to Palestine is the small place the Jew holds in his former land. He has a place in Jerusalem, but a pathetic and unworthy one. He can hardly continue as he is. Wealthier Jews in Europe are now making provision for the better education of Jewish children in the East, and the result will be in the near future to emphasise the problem presented to them in their

scattered condition. The dominant personality is the Moslem, who in all respects, save that of religion, is being rapidly Europeanised. The Jew and the Moslem have their intense monotheism in common, and this has so far strengthened them in their opposition to Christianity as too often presented to them. The influence of Protestantism is almost disruptive to a people who do not recognise the right of private judgment, but this makes the Christian Jew usually a man of great force of character. The segregating habits of the Jew are being broken down, and there is a tendency to liberalise the Muslim's religious sentiment, and these two facts are fraught with great importance for the future of Palestine.

24th April, 1911.

Present 21 members. The following papers were read : (1) "Impressions of Service on the Indian North-West Frontier," by Rev. J. H. H. M'Neill, B.D. (2) "Peoples and Languages of the Eastern Himalayas," by Rev. A. P. S. Tulloch, B.D. (3) "Some Results of Recent Archaeology in Palestine," by Rev. J. H. Weir, B.D. Abstracts are given of the first and second papers. The paper by Mr. Weir appeared in the *Proceedings of the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow*, vol. xlii. pp. 55-70.

#### IMPRESSIONS OF SERVICE ON THE INDIAN NORTH-WEST FRONTIER.

BY REV. J. H. H. M'NEILL, B.D.

THE history of the Peshawar Valley was referred to, from the time when this part of Asia, now a thousand miles from the sea, is said to have been covered by the ocean, to the present when the work of the Empire is going on there, and the future of the East waits on the deeds that are being done, and the life that is being lived there to-day. The Valley is surrounded by the wild mountain-land in which dwell the Frontier Tribes, and from which they descend to raid the rich stretches below. The wild character of their country has been naively accounted for in the Pathan story that when the Almighty had finished the creation of the world, He still had debris and boulders on His hands, and He simply left them scattered in this



out-of-the-way corner of the earth, and so the rugged fatherland of these Frontier Tribes was made.

The people are as rugged as the rocks among which they dwell. Their language is Pushtu, a dialect full of Arabic and Persian words, but with an alphabet distinguished by special characters which seem to have been invented to give a better representation of the deep guttural sounds. The derivation of the race is uncertain. They have strong features of a distinctively Jewish type, and believe themselves to be Beni-Israel, of the Tribe of Benjamin and the kinsmen of Saul. They use names like David and Solomon and Saul and Joseph. One tribe, the Jusufzais, are just the Joseph people. Even Sodom exists as a place-name in the Swat Valley. And it may be that the caravans which in Solomon's day brought the distinctive products of India to the West, issuing from the desert at Damascus or Tadmor in the wilderness, passed through the same Khyber Pass by which the silks and carpets of Bokhara and Central Asia are brought on camel-back to India to-day, and that a stream of Jewish migration may have flowed to the East by the same great routes.

To establish any relation by similarities of language between the Pathan and the Hebrew is difficult, as the whole history of the Mohammedan religion and the Arabic language intervenes between the two. The late Dr. Pennell declared that there are no Hebrew words in Pushtu, but he discovered two customs not found among other Mohammedan peoples which seem distinctively Jewish. One is that of sacrificing a sheep or goat in case of illness, and sprinkling the blood on the doorposts to ward off the Angel of Death. Another, which is dying out, is that of taking a heifer and placing upon it the sins of the people, after which it becomes *Qurban*, or sacrifice, and is driven into the Wilderness.

However the question may be decided, the Frontier gives a wonderful picture of the level of culture and the conditions of life which we find in the pages of the Old Testament. The *lex talionis* survives, and nearly every family has its blood-feud. The blood of the murdered seems to cry out of the ground for an avenger. The passing of widows to the heirs as part of the inheritance may come through Mohammedan law, but it reminds one of the story of Ruth and Boaz. The Elders sitting outside the village walls managing the tribal affairs; the frequent disputes and fights over water-rights, and the possession of the springs; the revenge, common some decades ago, of setting fire to the ripe fields of wheat and barley; and the destruction by each usurper of the whole kin of the chief whose place he has seized, lest one should survive to be a claimant against him,—all bring before the mind pictures that might be taken straight out of the pages of Old Testament history. And the wonder is that this old life looks down from its home among the frowning hills on

Peshawar, only about a dozen miles away, with its modern Western ways and faiths and thoughts.

It is interesting to notice how much is still in the making on these far Frontiers. The Peshawar Valley had not come into touch with European politics from the days of Alexander the Great, part of whose army marched through the land of the Jusufzais when he invaded India in 326 B.C. till the East India Company were permitted by the Sikh government at Lahore to send representatives to meet the Amir of Afghanistan at Peshawar, just a hundred years ago. It really came into British possession only sixty years ago, when the victories of the Second Sikh War added the Punjab and the country now called the North-West Frontier Province to the dominions of the Company. But one has to look beyond the hills to understand how Western politics is now pressing on these parts. The Amir of Afghanistan, ruler of a Mohammedan State, occupies a position like that of the old kings of Judah. He is independent, but he has two mighty empires pressing on his borders, Russia on the north and Britain on the east, and in his relations with the two we are reminded how the old Jewish kings now turned to Egypt and now to Assyria or Babylon for help. Our Afghan wars have been attempts to assert our right to equal representation with Russia at the Court of Kabul. And though Afghanistan is still closed to us, treaties have been drawn up settling the lines of the Russian Frontier and of the Afghan Border on our side. Abdur Rahman, the late Amir, was allowed to capture and annex Kafiristan, an old heathen country in which lingered traces of Greek ways and religion, bequeathed by the colonists left in the track of Alexander's conquests. So the screen of the buffer State has been carried further round the north of our Frontier; while the establishing of the Gilgit Agency and the garrisoning of Chitral, have brought within the reach of our influence the little States on our side of the great Pamir range, which forms the natural boundary between India and the Northern Power. This consolidating work has been the fruit of the quiet and often unnoticed labours of our Frontier soldiers and political officers during the last twenty years.

The Pathans themselves, with whom we have most to do, occupy a strip of independent country between the Indian and the Afghan borders. They manage their own tribal affairs, but while they are free to fight amongst themselves, there is a certain amount of control by our political officers of anything like foreign policy, and even of general behaviour. They are bigoted Mussulmans, greatly under the influence of their Mullahs, and the cases of Ghaza, in which a Pathan goes out to slay the first European he meets, with the hope of winning heaven by sending an Infidel soul to hell, and of Jihad, when a Holy War is proclaimed and all the unsettled souls of the

Border join the standards of the Mullahs, believing that they will be invulnerable in the contest with the Infidels, still give evidence of the dangerous power of these religious leaders. They show great respect to the shrines of their saints, never passing these without offering a prayer and asking their intercession. They have a theory of a sort of double soul, one leaving the body at death, the other lingering about the tomb and able to influence the course of human affairs. They believe that their holy men still grow after death, and a case occurred in Peshawar in which the Deputy Commissioner had to tell the devotees of a certain shrine which was growing till it encroached on the road, that their Pir would either have to stop further growth or be removed to some other place. The possession of these shrines is a source of both pride and profit to the tribesmen. One of the tribes, the Zakkha Khels, against whom we were fighting in 1908, used to be scorned as irreligious by the other tribesmen because they had never produced a saint nor had a shrine in their land. It is said that once they found out that an old traveller, who was passing the night in their country, was a real saint, and so they murdered him, and built a shrine over his grave, and were proud to think that their reproach had now been taken away.

There is a great dignity about these often poorly-clad Pathans. Their women are not so handsome, but they provide cause for many an inter-tribal and inter-family feud. When a young girl is carried off, the offending tribe has to give satisfaction in the form of a substitute chosen from the married women and a money fine. A husband's jealousy often results in his cutting off the nose of the suspected frail one to make her no longer pleasing to any lover.

They are a poor race, and raiding has been the profession of the more highly spirited. Border stories are full of the exploits of the bands who have gathered round some outlaw ; and the cleverness of their schemes and the daring of their raids have long been the delight of the tribesmen. In 1908, just before the little expedition was sent against the Zakkha Khels, the troops in Peshawar were warned that one of their parties was on the move. Guards were sent out in all directions, but the gang entered Peshawar from our own side, disguised as a marriage party, with their arms stowed away in the dhooly or palanquin of the supposed bride, and before the night came on were off with a very considerable amount of loot. Their great desire is to make themselves masters of a modern rifle, and our soldiers on the Frontier know the unsleeping watchfulness of our men who have to guard their arms almost as jealously as their lives.

One of the wonderful features of Frontier life has been the influence of the character of individual officers who have served our country there. The stories of Edwardes and of Nicholson, and of the influence they obtained over the minds of these wild clansmen, are among the

romances of history. And while their country is still closed against us, there is no doubt that the power which is doing most to win over these tribesmen is the character of the men who are sent to serve our Empire there. As regards missions, there can be no doubt that Christianity would heal some of the great evils of Frontier life. But the work of proselytising has to be done under the limitations which our position imposes on us. Government, which shelters and represents so many creeds, cannot be called in as a force helping the Christian Missions, without rousing protest and unrest in many quarters. The work must be the work of the Churches, patient work that does not look immediately for startling conquests. The pity is that we do not yet offer a universal religion to the men of the other great religions, but carry our contending divisions with us. The awakening of the East may be a call to us to think more broadly, in terms of the wide world, and not of some narrow sphere, bound by local prejudices and the clinging to the divisions of the past.

## PEOPLES AND LANGUAGES OF THE EASTERN HIMALAYAS.

BY THE REV. A. P. S. TULLOCH, B.D.

THE district known as "The Eastern Himalayas" is a triangle bounded on the south by the Plains of India, on the west by the country of Nepal, on the east by Bhutan, and having its apex-angle occupied by British Sikkim, beyond which, to the north, lies Thibet. The lower part of the area of the triangle is divided in two by the River Teesta, running southwards, and each of the halves thus formed subdivides naturally into hills and plains. West of the River is the hill-district of Darjeeling, famous for its fine tea, and for the town of Darjeeling, which is the summer headquarters of the Government of Bengal, and is visited by large numbers of tourists desiring to see the wonderful snow-mountains. At the base of the Darjeeling hills lies the strip of plains known as the Terai—a name which signifies the going-down or shelving-off of the hills into the plains. East of the Teesta River is the hill-district of Kalimpong, mostly under forest and agricultural cultivation, and taking its name from the village of Kalimpong, well known now as the site of the St. Andrew's Colonial Homes for Eurasian children. Below the Kalimpong hills stretches the long strip of plains called the Dooars. Both in the Terai and the Dooars tea is grown extensively; and the climate of both districts is comparable only to that of the African Gold-coast.

One of the first things that strikes a visitor to these parts is the extraordinary relation which is observable between the climate of

the districts and the colour of the people inhabiting them. Far out in the plains of India one sees people dark in colour and with a type of countenance approximating that of the Negro. The natives of Bengal are lighter in colour, though still dark olive or light brown, and their features are distinctly Aryan, or what is commonly known as the Hindu type. But as one leaves the plains and ascends the hills, he will observe a direct ratio to obtain between the colour of the people and the varying heights at which they live. *Type*.—With the plains, the Aryan type is left behind. The cast of countenance of the hill-peoples generally is Mongolian. The soft outlines, prominent features and receding brow and chin of the Indian proper are exchanged for the flat face, snub nose, large and prominent cheek-bones, almond-shaped eyes, rugged chin, and square jaw of the Mongolian race. A corresponding change is visible in the figure also, the indolent, lithe grace of the Hindu proper giving place to the Mongol's squat and strong, sturdily-built figure. *Colour*.—But the difference in colour is most marked of all, the ratio of colour to climate, as exhibited in these districts, being little short of amazing. First we encounter the olive complexion of the Nepalese, a dark olive still, yet much lighter than that of the Bengali—very much lighter than that of the Bengali villager—"fair" in comparison with the copper colour of some of the plains-people. Next, and higher up the mountains, we find the Lepchas, considerably fairer than the Nepalese, their women, boys, and girls very fair indeed, their babies almost white. Then, at the summit of the inhabited hills, we have those of Thibetan race, so very fair, so nearly white, that many have red or rosy cheeks. It is more than interesting, it is extremely impressive, and most stimulating to speculation, thus to pass, in the course of a few hours and miles from the dark copper colour and negro cast of countenance to the white, or pale yellow, and red, and the type of face ordinarily associated with the denizens of the colder countries; and on the way to see the various stages in actual flesh and blood.

*Peoples and Languages. The Plains*.—Well out into the great plains, on the southern confines of our district, the land is cultivated by the Bengalis, or, as in the case of the Terai, the Rajbanshis, a branch of the common Bengali stock. Closer into the hills, tea is now largely grown; but not long since the primeval forests, the dense jungles, and the thick, high jungle-grass sheltered a tribe of people of aboriginal stock, called Mechis, who, as they were disturbed by encroaching civilization and cultivation, have moved ever further and further east, even to the borders of Assam. The Mechi is small and squat, and seems to stand in the race somewhere between the Aryan and the Mongolian. His language is, I think, aboriginal, and of the Mongolian stock and the Tibeto-Burman family. The Tea

Gardens of the plains have attracted to them Chhota Nagpuris from about Ranchi, speaking Nagpuri; their neighbours the Mundaris, speaking Mundari or Kol, and the Santalis, speaking Santali. These languages belong to the Kolarian family, one of the main divisions of the many languages found in India, and differ widely from those which belong to the Aryan group. The Rajbanshi language is a dialect of Bengali. The Rajbanshi can follow the spoken Bengali, but the Bengali proper is at a loss in the presence of the Rajbanshi dialect. Of the Bengali language I need say nothing here, save that I believe it to be a daughter of Hindi, and so a granddaughter of the ancient Sanskrit. We have, then, in the plains of the Dooars and the Terai the following spoken: viz. Bengali, and its dialect Rajbanshi; Mechi and its supposed dialect Damad; Nagpuri, Mundari, Santali; and also, wherever this race has braved the climate, Nepalese. What is the *lingua franca* among all these? It is, in the plains as in the hills of our district, Hindi—Hindi, not Hindu, which is a religious nomenclature. The *lingua franca* of India is Hindustani; though Hindi runs it a close second. Note that these two are distinct from one another—not unallied, yet distinct. The distinction has its root in their origin. Hindi is, I believe, a direct daughter of Sanskrit, and, as a language, is pure. Hindustani is an admixture: it is Hindi with a large Persian vocabulary grafted on to it—hence its alternative name, Urdu. The Persian element consists almost entirely of the religious vocabulary, with a slight sprinkling of the commercial vocabulary also. Hindi has its own religious vocabulary, based, like the rest of it, on the Sanskrit, and it is a totally different one from the borrowed Persian of Hindustani. In the Eastern Himalayas, although Hindustani is spoken by a few, the real *lingua franca* is Hindi. Yet at best, we can speak only tentatively of a *lingua franca* at all there; large numbers of people knowing only their own language or dialect.

*The Hills.*—Here also the *lingua franca* is Hindi, among the less educated. In the case of the better educated, whether Nepali, Lepcha, Bhutia, or Bengali, the *lingua franca* may almost be said to be now the English tongue. *Thibetan* (Tibeto-Burman family, as with Chinese) is spoken by such as have emigrated from Thibet, mainly to Darjeeling town, but is of a very poor order, “low-class” Thibetan—witness the absence of the honorific vocabulary in which pure Thibetan is so remarkably rich. (Note: honorifics are common to most languages in these parts, and their use is a test of good speech.) *Bhutia*, the language of the inhabitants of Bhutan, I understand to be a dialect of or variation from the Thibetan; and a variation from it again is Sikkim-Bhutia, a speech in common use in the British Dependency of Sikkim, on the borders of Thibet.

The chief languages of these hills, however, are two in number,

viz. *Lepcha* and *Nepali*. Both are intensely interesting. The Lepchas, an aboriginal race which formerly occupied all Sikkim and the Darjeeling district, have in recent years been pressed farther and farther eastwards by the pushing Nepalese. The Lepchas are a primitive people, very fair in colour, and Mongolian in cast of countenance. The keynotes of their character are gentleness, love or family affection, truth and innocence. So far as my knowledge goes, they are a unique race—dwelling in the great forests and on the lonely hillsides of a country which embraces the grandest and most beautiful scenery in the world, and living there a peaceful, healthy, and perfectly natural life. Some of them who had been Christianized, whom I have known very intimately, exhibited the fairest flowers of the Christian character it has ever been my privilege to behold. Their acquaintance with natural history—trees, plants, flowers, and animal, bird, and insect life—is at once so vast and so minute as to be almost incredible. Their language, also, is perhaps, unique. It is monosyllabic, aboriginal, primitive. I do not know that it is even possible to relate it to any of the Mongolian forms of speech; though the character in which it is written (a very beautiful one) bears, I think, undoubted traces of the Mongolian. Its correct name is the *Rong* language (!) As reflecting the innocent simplicity of the people it “has no primary words (beyond the words for gold and silver) to express money, merchants or merchandise, fairs or markets. Their peaceful and gentle character is evinced by its numerous terms of tenderness and compassion, and by the fact that not one word of abuse exists in their language. Nevertheless the language itself is most copious, and admits of a flow and power of speech which is wonderful” (Mainwaring).

Finally, we come to the Nepalese and their language. Inhabitants of the country of Nepal, it is from them that our famous Gorkha regiments are recruited. As a race, I have reason to believe that they are a mixture of Mongol and Aryan. Short of stature, squat, sturdily-built, and very strong, their lower castes exhibit the Mongolian type of countenance, but their higher castes lean often towards the Aryan type. Caste is strong among them, but in a social rather than a religious sense. In religion they are Hindus. The Court language and *lingua franca* of Nepal was once Newari, but is now Gorkhali, the Gorkhas having ruled the country since 1768. The natives themselves call their language Parbate, or, more commonly still, Pahāriyā—both words meaning simply “the hill-language.” Nepali is a dialect or daughter of Hindi. It is written in the Sanskrit or Devanagari character. It has, naturally, many variations; but it has been reduced to a common standard (and that a very high one), and to grammar, by a very thorough scholar and eminent Missionary of the Church of Scotland, the late Rev. Archd. Turnbull, whose

translation of the New Testament into Nepali is comparable only to our own Authorized Version of the Bible. The language possesses a marvellous facility for the expression of the most delicate shades of meaning—like the beautiful delicacy of classic Greek. It is a language easy to acquire, in so far as its vocabulary is simple, but a very difficult one to learn to speak well, since for that there is necessary perfect accuracy of pronunciation, modulation, and accent, and a minutely correct employment of its intricate and delicate idioms, along with a complete abandonment of our habitual reserve and self-consciousness. It is essentially and beautifully a mellifluous language, therein differing greatly from its stiff and rigid mother, Hindi, and from its harsh and jarring sister, Bengali; and I close with a simple example of such difference, and a sample of the liquid wonder of Nepali—a line from the Book of Revelation—the English itself is stiff enough: “Which is, and which was, and which is to come”; this is the staccato Hindi: “Jo hai, aur jo thā, aur jo ānewālā hai”; this the flowing Nepali: “Jo hunne ani thinne ani ārunne ho.”

*9th October, 1911.*

There were present 25 members.

Congratulations were expressed to Mr. Alex. S. Fulton on his appointment to the Oriental Department of the British Museum.

The following papers were read: (1) “Stein’s Sand-buried Ruins of Kotan,” by Rev. John Macara, B.D. (2) The Society’s later “Megillahs,” by the Honorary President. (3) “The Use of the Name ‘Israel’ in Old Testament Times,” by the President as regards Isaiah and Micah, and by Rev. D. F. Roberts, B.D., as regards Amos, Hosea, Samuel, and Kings. This was in connection with Group IX. The paper by the Honorary President, Prof. Robertson, is included in the list of “Megillah” subjects appearing in Appendix I. An abstract follows herewith of No. 3 of the above papers.



## THE USE OF THE NAME "ISRAEL" IN OLD TESTAMENT TIMES.

*In Isaiah and Micah.*

BY PROFESSOR STEVENSON, B.D., D.Litt.

*Introductory.*—In the expressions "King of Israel" and "King of Judah" as used by the author of the Book of Kings, Israel and Judah are mutually exclusive terms, and Israel is the name of one part of the Hebrew people. Elsewhere Israel sometimes evidently denotes the whole nation and in the usage of some writers certainly includes Judah. Assuming that the word applied both to the people of the north and to those of the south before the separation of the kingdoms, and that it was practically equivalent to Judah in the exilic prophecies of Isaiah xl.-lv., it is difficult to suppose that the Judeans during the separation excluded themselves from the denotation of the term and distinguished themselves as Judeans *in contrast to* Israelites. Presumably they called themselves both Israelites and Judeans. This suggests that the use of Israel as a distinctive name for one kingdom was a northern usage. As the larger and the stronger part the northern Hebrews would naturally continue to call themselves "Israel" and refuse to distinguish themselves by any sectional name. But if so we have to ask what sectional name was applied to them by the Judeans. There are other names besides Israel applied in the Old Testament to the northern kingdom, such as "House of Joseph," "Kingdom of Samaria" (used even in Kings), and "Kingdom of Ephraim." Their occurrence suggests that the Judeans spoke of the northern kingdom as Samaria or Ephraim and used Israel only as a general term, inclusive of the north and the south alike. The subject of "the distinctive names for the northern and southern kingdoms during the period of their separation" is being studied by one of the Groups. Meantime I have stated the problem, and will further only summarise what I find to be the evidence of the Judean prophets, Isaiah and Micah, on this subject.

*Isaiah.* Isaiah's distinctive name for the northern kingdom seems clearly to be Ephraim. *Vid.* chapter vii. *passim*, especially ver. 17, "from the time when Ephraim departed from Judah," i.e. from the time of the separation of the kingdoms, and ver. 2, "Syria is confederate with Ephraim." The prophet's use of "Israel" is determined especially by viii. 14, "both houses of Israel," i.e. the two kingdoms, both parts of Israel. Israel and Jacob in Isaiah apply generally at least to the whole people, including the inhabitants of both kingdoms. So in the passage ix. 21 ff. which commences: "Jehovah sent a word against Jacob and it lighted on Israel" we

find Manasseh, Ephraim, and Judah included as parts of the whole (ver. 21). Thus either term (Israel or Jacob) may rightly be applied to each kingdom separately; both the Judeans and the Ephraimites may be addressed as Israel (*i.e.* Israelites), being part of Israel. Perhaps this usage is most likely to occur with reference to Judah after the destruction of the northern kingdom, and I take chapter i. vv. 2-9 as a case where Judah alone is addressed as Israel.

The only passage in Isaiah inconsistent with the usage now described occurs in vii. 1, which speaks of "Ahaz, king of Judah, Rezin, king of Syria, and Pekah, king of *Israel*." Such an isolated case cannot be allowed to negative the conclusion derived from the rest of these chapters. It is fair to regard it as not Isaianic and not original.

*Micah.* In this prophet the evidence is very limited. iii. 9-10 shows at least that the term Israel included the Judeans and was not restricted to the inhabitants of the northern kingdom. i. 5, possibly, but not decisively, implies that Israel included also the inhabitants of Samaria. As to the distinctive names in use, Judah is, of course, the southern kingdom, and possibly Samaria the special name for the north (i. 5-6). It is impossible to interpret certainly the phrase "Kings of Israel" in i. 14 merely from the context.

## THE USAGE IN SAMUEL, KINGS, AMOS, AND HOSEA.

By D. F. ROBERTS, B.A., B.D.

### (1) 1 and 2 Samuel.

"Israel" is here the whole people or the whole territory of the Hebrews, including Judah. Judah is a subdivision of Israel (*e.g.* 1 Sam. 27<sup>10</sup>). The people are also called בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל. The few exceptions that exist can be legitimately explained as reflecting the condition of things in the historian or editor's own later time, and the parallel passages in Chron. support this view. One passage presents greater difficulty, viz. 2 Sam. 19<sup>40-42</sup>.

### (2) Kings.

(a) 1 Kings 1-11. Only once is Judah mentioned as contrasted with Israel, viz. 1 Kings, 1<sup>33</sup>; in 1 Chron. 28<sup>4</sup> there is no such contrast, Judah being there part of Israel.

(b) 1 Kings 12. The general usage is that Israel is the whole, Judah a part of that whole.

(c) 1 Kings 13-2 Kings 25. Israel is the whole. God is "the God of Israel" to Hezekiah and Huldah the prophetess, who were southerners.

2 Kings 14<sup>18</sup> suggests that the southern name for the northern kingdom was Ephraim.

(3) In Amos and Hosea, the evidence is not so clear. Israel seems to be the northern kingdom, Judah the southern. In Amos 7<sup>12</sup> "land of Judah" is put into the mouth of a northerner, and seems to be contrasted with Israel, the north. Yet cp. Hosea, 5<sup>6</sup>.

Other terms for the northern kingdom are Ephraim, Joseph, House of Joseph. A possible solution for Amos and Hosea is that a northerner excluded Judah from Israel; to him Israel is the northern kingdom only; and that the southerner called the northern kingdom mostly Ephraim, while Israel included Judah to him. This will hold true of Hosea, except 4<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>9</sup> and 13<sup>1</sup>: the confusion in Amos will be due to the fact that the words of a southern prophet were perhaps edited in the north.

*29th April, 1912.*

There were 20 members present.

The congratulations of the Society were expressed to Rev. George Anderson, the Recording Secretary, on the intimation that the University of Glasgow had resolved to confer on him the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Divinity.

The Rev. James Millar, B.D., was elected an Honorary member.

The Group Studies were reorganised and the New Scheme is appended.

The following papers were read: (1) "The Age of the Samaritan Pentateuch (I.)," by Rev. Dr. Thomson. (2) "The Place of Genesis i. and ii. in the Plan of the Pentateuch," by Rev. William Rollo, M.A. (3) "Wiener's Criticism of the Wellhausen School," by Rev. R. C. Thomson, B.D. Abstracts of papers 1 and 3 are given herewith.

#### GROUP STUDY SCHEME.

THE following is a list of the subjects which are being studied under this scheme, and of the Members who are taking part. The object aimed at is to obtain fresh results in subjects which may be too extensive for one individual, but which promise to yield something of value to the investigation of several working together. Members who have not yet joined the scheme are invited to do so and to send

to the President or Secretary suggestions regarding additional subjects which they or others might undertake. They are also invited to forward to the Groups questions or contributions bearing on the subjects of study and so co-operate in the scheme :

W. B. S.

*Group I.—Hebrew Syntax.*

Mr. R. B. Pattie, B.D., Glasgow.

Prof. Wm. B. Stevenson, D.Litt., Glasgow.

*Group II.—Origin and Value of the Karyan.*

Rev. Hugh Duncan, B.D., Garturk.

Rev. James Young, B.D., Paisley.

*Group III.—Hebrew Synonyms.*

Rev. Geo. Anderson, D.D., Renfrew.

Rev. Morison Bryce, Baldernock.

Rev. Thos. F. H. Graham, B.D., Glasgow.

Rev. J. Cromarty Smith, B.D., Coatdyke.

Rev. Canon William Rollo, M.A., Glasgow.

*Group IV.—The Distinctive Names for the Northern and Southern Kingdoms during the period of their Separation.*

Rev. Richd. Bell, B.D., Edinburgh.

Rev. N. R. Mitchell, B.D., Glasgow.

Rev. D. F. Roberts, B.D., Festiniog.

*Group V.—The Personal Religion of the Psalter, its Characteristics and Implications.*

Rev. Robert Aitken, B.D., Greenock.

Rev. Duncan Cameron, B.D., Barrhead.

Rev. William Fulton, B.D., Paisley.

Rev. John Muir, B.D., Paisley.

*Group VI.—The Samaritan Pentateuch.*

Rev. Dr. Thomson, Edinburgh.

Rev. W. Richmond Scott, Auchengray.

Rev. R. C. Thomson, B.D., Alloa.

Rev. Alex. Anderson, B.D., Kirkcaldy.

*Group VII.—The Contribution of Arabic Literature to the Elucidation of the Old Testament.*

Rev. William Ewing, M.A., Edinburgh.

Prof. Wm. B. Stevenson, D.Litt., Glasgow.

Rev. T. H. Weir, B.D., Glasgow.

*Group VIII.—Hebrew Language and Institutions in the Light of Assyrian Research.*

Rev. A. C. Baird, B.D., B.Sc., Glasgow.

Rev. T. F. H. Graham, B.D., Glasgow.

*Group IX.—The Jewish Cantilation of Scripture.*

Rev. W. M. Christie, M.A., Glasgow.

Rev. Robert Burnett, B.D., Liberton.

JAMES YOUNG, *Cor. Sec.*

May, 1912.

THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH IN RELATION TO  
CRITICISM.

BY REV. J. E. H. THOMSON, D.D.

PART I.

WE are not to assume either the Massoretic or the Samaritan to be the primitive. We cannot assume that the Northern tribes only knew the Pentateuch when the mixed mass of colonists received it. There was a large Israelitish remnant left in the land. These had a form of worship partly of the High Places, partly connected with the Prophets. Probably not a few went to Jerusalem. The colonists, when the lions wasted them, might not be sure that the God of the land would be satisfied with the maimed rites of the High Places, so appealed to the "Great King." He sent a priest who would probably bring a book of the Law.

What of the Law was known in the Northern Kingdom? Evidence of Amos and Hosea. Amos shows an accurate knowledge of technical terms used of sacrifices although not a priest; so also Hosea though not so markedly. Amos implies that his Northern audience were as well acquainted with these terms as himself. Both Prophets show themselves acquainted with the events of Pentateuchal history, especially Hosea.

It is maintained that the Pentateuch was introduced to the Samaritans in the days of Alexander the Great. Some things would suit this date; mainly the sanctity given to Gerizim. This view is derived from Josephus, who tells of the expulsion of Manasseh, grandson of the High Priest, and his flight to Samaria to Sanballat, his father-in-law, and that a temple was then built. It is well known that Josephus drops a whole century, confusing Darius Nothus with Darius Codomannus. Further, he contradicts Nehemiah;

Nehemiah was a contemporary, while Josephus lived nearly half a millennium after the events.

If the flight of Manasseh is put in the time of Nehemiah new difficulties emerge. The Priestly Code, it is held, was partly compiled, partly concocted in Babylon by the captive priests, and brought by Ezra to Jerusalem. In consequence of the ideas which Ezra had brought with him, Manasseh was banished. Was it likely that, if the Priestly Code had been a novelty, Manasseh would convey it to Samaria; all the less likely as Ezra had been the cause of his banishment? Would it have been received in Samaria? The Samaritans had been worshipping Jehovah for three centuries, would they be likely to revolutionise their ritual at the bidding of a runaway priest who was himself at variance with the code he taught?

Excavation may afford decisive results as to the date of the Temple on Mount Gerizim. There are ruins of a church erected by Zeno, and of a fortress of Justinian. Roman Imperial coins of the third century depict a porticoed temple standing on Mount Gerizim. Beneath all these, if there are found fragments of columns with kneeling-ox capitals, like those in Persepolis, this would prove the Samaritan Temple to have been erected under Persian rule.

## PART II.

Another line of investigation may be followed. There is a Chronology of script. The Samaritan letters are acknowledged by the Jews to be older than the square character which they use. The Samaritan characters resemble those on the Maccabean coins. There was an older Semitic script, the "angular," found in inscriptions as on the Moabite stone, etc. Resembling letters in different scripts are different; hence a date can be inferred from mistakes due to confusions of letters. Confusions due to letters resembling in the square character are those connected with *vav* and *yodh*; all these are Jewish blunders. Mistakes due to resemblances in the Samaritan are only apparent; found only in Walton's Text.

We may not assume that the Nablus Roll has any of these blunders. Although in its *Tarikh* it is asserted to have been written by "Abishua, the son of Pinhas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aharun the priest, etc.," it cannot be earlier than the Maccabean period. It must have been copied from an older MS. Mistakes have been found which are due to the resemblance between *daleth* and *resh* which do not resemble in Samaritan; these cannot be due to the likeness in the "square character," as the Samaritan is older. There are others due to resemblance between *mem* and *nun*. From the fact that these resemblances point to the peculiar form of the angular found on the Moabite Stone, they would seem to point to ascribing the date of the

divergence of the recensions to a period between the accession of Ahab and the fall of the Northern Kingdom. Signs of antiquity found in the writing of documents are not rendered valueless, in the case of those frequently copied, by signs of recency. The latest exemplar may bear the traces of all its ancestry.

There is a chronology of grammatical forms. Some of the forms which Gesenius called Samaritanisms, he later regarded as archaisms preserved in the North, but removed by Southern scribes. The Samaritan scribes removed Southern archaisms. These Jewish archaisms are found only in the Pentateuch. Hence the Pentateuch separate from Joshua, and earlier than the Prophets, not after them.

*Conclusion.*—Investigation has rendered it probable that the Northern Kingdom had a book of the Law which coincided mainly with our Pentateuch. It is difficult in the light of other things to date the Samaritan Pentateuch later than the reign of Ahab. If the Law book discovered in the reign of Josiah was the copy deposited at the foundation of the Temple according to the Egyptian custom, then the date is carried back to the time of Solomon, or really David.

## WIENER'S CRITICISM OF THE WELLHAUSEN SCHOOL.

BY REV. R. C. THOMSON, B.D.

THE outstanding feature of Harold Wiener's attack upon the Wellhausen school can be expressed in a very few words. It is that the "Higher Criticism" has neglected Textual Criticism, and, as often before in the history of the world, out of the neglected field comes Nemesis. Wiener's views are published in a volume entitled *Essays in Pentateuchal Criticism*, five out of the six chapters having been reprinted with but little alteration from the pages of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*.

In the brief paper read on this subject, Wiener's exposure of the methods of the Wellhausen school in basing their conclusions upon a text which is frequently uncertain or even demonstrably wrong, was illustrated by some quotations from his book.

For example, there is a lack of continuity in the narrative between Exod. xviii. 6 and 7, which is regarded by the critical school as indicating a plurality of sources; but the difficulty vanishes if the reading, which is found in the Samaritan, the Syriac, and the Septuagint be adopted as the true one. See Wiener, page 62. Wiener's remarks on the supposed "clue" to the "documents" in Exod. vi. 2-8 were next considered, and certain of the readings which he believes to be demonstrably superior to the Massoretic text were referred to.

14th October, 1912.

There were 23 members present.

Mr. Weir intimated his willingness to prepare additional numbers of the "Megillah" with the help of members and circulate them. Reports on Group Studies are to be used for this purpose. Mr. Weir was cordially thanked.

The following papers were read : (1) "Notes on Recent Literature," by the Honorary President and the President. (2) "Age of the Samaritan Pentateuch (II.)," by Rev. Dr. Thomson. (3) "Hebrew as a Spoken Tongue," by Rev. W. M. Christie. An abstract of Dr. Thomson's paper is given on page 55. The abstracts of the others are given herewith.

#### NOTES ON RECENT LITERATURE.

BY REV. PROFESSOR ROBERTSON, D.D., LL.D.

*The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam.* Besides the work entitled *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*, which was noticed at the October Meeting 1906, Dr. D. B. Macdonald, of Hartford, Conn., has recently published two important works on Islam, viz. *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1909), and *Aspects of Islam* (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1911). These titles indicate pretty accurately the nature and contents of the two books : the *Aspects* dealing more with Islam as seen historically and from the outside, and the *Attitude and Life* dealing more with Islam from the inside. It is to the latter that attention is here drawn, the salient points being expressed, as far as possible, in the author's own words.

Macdonald analyses the *Attitude* into three points : I. The reality of the Unseen, of a background to life, unattainable to our physical senses ; II. Man's relation to the Unseen, as to faith and insight therein ; i.e. the whole emotional religious life ranging, at the simplest, from a prayerful attitude and a sense of God's presence, to the open vision of the mystic with all its complicated theological consequences ; and III. The discipline of the traveller on his way to such direct knowledge of the divine, and during his life in it. The present notice is confined to the first of these three "points."

"The conception of the Unseen is much more immediate and real to the Oriental than to Western peoples." Yet "the Arabs show



themselves not as especially easy of belief, but as hard-hearted, materialistic, questioning, doubting, scoffing at their own superstitions and usages, fond of tests of the supernatural—tempting God, in a word—and all this in a curiously light-minded, almost childish fashion.” “The truth is that we commonly regard this acknowledged difference between East and West from the wrong point, and are governed by the wrong word. It is not really faith that is in question here, but knowledge; it is not the attitude to God, but the attitude to law. The essential difference in the Oriental mind is not credulity as to unseen things, but inability to construct a system as to seen things.” “Start then with this, that the difference in the Oriental is not essentially religiosity, but the lack of the sense of law.” “So, at every turn, the Oriental is confronted by the possibility of unforetellable, unrationalizable difference.” The shell separating the seen from the Unseen is the merest film. “This being so, it is evident that anything is possible to the Oriental. The supernatural is so near, that it may touch him at any moment. There is no surprise; and therefore there is need, in verification, of a small test only. In the case of our investigators of occult phenomena, spiritism and the like, the trouble is that no test, however complete, is really enough. There *must* be something wrong, is our attitude. But even the heathen Arabs accepted the soothsayer if he told them anything which they were assured he could not know of himself.” It is evident that the door is thus opened to endless superstition.

Macdonald then enumerates what he calls the “standard break-ages in that shell” (dividing the seen from the Unseen) which Islam recognizes. They are: Prophets, Diviners, Magic and Talisman, Appearances of the Jinn, Dreams, Saints. This enumeration indicates the width of the field surveyed in the book. It is too wide to be surveyed in this brief notice. But some remarks on Prophets and Prophecy are worth transcribing:

“The Hebrews, a Bedawi tribe, which abandoned the desert and turned, more or less, to the agricultural life, exhibit the essential characteristics of Arab prophetism. Nowhere does their unity with Arabia come out more strongly, and yet nowhere is the essential difference of the religiosity of the Hebrews more marked. Such a figure as Elijah, so far at least as the O.T. has preserved for us his legend, must have appeared again and again in the earlier desert, and certainly did among the saints of Islam. The schools of sons of the prophets of which, from time to time, we have fleeting glimpses, can be exactly paralleled by the darwish fraternities of Islam. . . . The soil, in a word, from which the great prophets sprang, was alike among the Hebrews and the Arabs.” Yet, “when we turn from the common soul of prophetism to the great Hebrew prophets, how wide is the difference! Isaiah—any of the Isaiahs—rises from the howling

frenzied mob of *nebhîm* ; of them and not of them. . . . So Samuel moved clear-eyed through the turbid airs of the religious life of his fellows. He and his like had seen the Lord, and the beauty of holiness was theirs." . . . "While the soil of Semitic prophecy is one, I know nowhere in the Semitic world any appearance like that of the great prophets of the Hebrews. They stand as clear from their soil as love in Christian marriage from the lust of the flesh, and the relation is much the same."

Again : "How is it that we do not find in the extinct remains of Hebrew literature anything but the directly or indirectly religious ? Further, and still more incisively, even if, by a strange chance, the profane literature has all been lost—there is some tolerably profane still in the Old Testament—why is there almost no mention of poets among them ? I speak subject to correction, but I know in Hebrew no unmistakable word for poet : *mîshel* certainly is not. Did they classify and name poets in some other way ? put them in some other category ? Further, they did have stories, current among the people, of their heroic age, of their great warriors and deliverers. What were the channels down which these passed ? Who played the part of the wandering gleemen, scalds, bards, minstrels of Mediaeval Europe ? That there were such we cannot doubt. The desert knows them to this day. . . . Was their part taken by *nebhîm*, solitary or in bands ? Was poetry and legend, production, preservation, transmission, all in the schools of the prophets ? This, you may say, is as absurd as to bring under one hood the mendicant friars and the gleemen of Europe. Sometimes even these did come most queerly together ; but that in Christendom was exceptional. In the Semitic world, I venture to say, it was the rule, and for the desert it can be proved."

These extracts will be enough to indicate how much there is in the book to suggest interesting lines of enquiry. To students of the Old Testament, in particular, the words last quoted will recall the repeated asseverations of the first "writing prophets" as to the existence of a line of "prophets" before their day.

BY PROFESSOR W. B. STEVENSON, B.D., D.Litt.

Garstang's *Land of the Hittites*, 1910 (the best account at present available of modern discoveries regarding the Hittites) ; J. S. Griffith's *Problem of Deuteronomy*, 1911 (discusses and rejects the conclusions of the Graf-Wellhausen School) ; A. H. M'Neile, *Deuteronomy : its place in Revelation*, 1912 (in part a reply to the preceding book) ; G. H. Box, *Book of Isaiah*, 1908 (a translation from a revised text, with notes ; perhaps the best book of its kind in English for any part of the Old Testament) ; Julius Hirsch, *Das Buch Iesaja*, 1911

(modern Jewish commentary); G. W. Wade, *Isaiah, with Introduction and Notes*, 1911 (in series of Westminster Commentaries); G. Buchanan Gray, *Commentary on Isaiah, i.-xxvii.*, 1912 (International Critical Commentary).

## HEBREW AS A SPOKEN TONGUE.

By REV. W. M. CHRISTIE, M.A.

ABOUT the year 700 B.C. Hebrew or 'Jehudith' was the one language of the people in Palestine, and Aramaic, as the *lingua franca*, was known only to the leaders.

A couple of centuries changed all this. After the Captivity Aramaic was the language of the people, and Hebrew, except as a learned language, was practically dead.

Hebrew in a modifying form continued to be the literary language till the second century A.D. Aramaic then took this place till the tenth century. It was followed by Arabic till the thirteenth, and then Hebrew resumed its old position.

During all the centuries it was to a small extent used for colloquial purposes, as by pious Jews on the Sabbath and in learned discussions in Councils, such as that which is said to have met in the plain of Agada in Hungary in 1650. It was, however, in its use essentially the 'Holy Tongue.'

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the movement of which Mendelssohn is a chief representative roused the Jewish world to an interest in the treasures of Gentile thought. This led to translations being made of all the great ancient and modern classics, to a more systematic study and representation of Israel's History and Literature, and to the preparation of original works on all the sciences, all in the Hebrew tongue. Still the language was practically in the same position as Latin had been to ourselves in the Middle Ages.

A change came with the outbursts of enthusiasm for the Holy Land during the past half century. Old pilgrims went to pray and die, and the young to colonize. Jews from different lands, with different tongues, met, and the only speech they had in common was Hebrew. The life was almost that of the Old Testament, and the vocabulary found there almost sufficed, while imported articles brought their names with them, and for advancing conditions of life the literature provided words to express even the most subtle distinctions of thought. The Renaissance came not as a popular fad, but to meet a pressing public need.

The Zionist movement, however, strengthened it. Capable men prepared dictionaries and school-books, and Hebrew is now the

chief language of the schools of Palestine, more spoken since it has been since before the Christian era, and it is even allowed in voting in the Municipal Elections in Jerusalem.

In pronunciation there has been no such violent break as usually goes a long way to make an ancient tongue unintelligible to a modern ear. The vowel system is that of the Massoretes as pronounced by the Sephardim. Among the **BCD KPT** letters only Kaph and Pe are ever aspirated, while Cheth, Teth, 'Ain, Qoph and sometimes Tzaddi closely imitate the Arabic. Vav is invariably 'v' and never 'w' save in Bagdad. The Grammar is practically that of the Mishnah. The particle **SHEL** in the formation of the Genitive relationship is much in evidence. The Comparative and Superlative are formed by means of **YOTER**, thus **TOB YOTER** 'better,' **HATTOT HAYYOTER**, 'the best.' **ZEH** and **OTO** are used before all genders and numbers for 'this' and 'that.' **YESH** represents 'there is,' and its negative is **AIN**. With prepositions it forms the verb 'to have.'

The tenses are formed by means of Auxiliary Verbs or Verbal Nouns as : **RATZAH** or **RATZON** for 'will,' **YAKHOL** or **YĖKHOLETH** for 'can,' **TZARICH** for 'must,' while the Participles are also much used. As also in the Mishnah a **Nithpa'el** form is frequently found. Compound words are formed and used with the Article before the first element, as : **HA-ARETZ-ISRAELI**, **HE-HÖLI-RA'**. The vocabulary is just what we should expect from the history of the language. A number of the commoner Talmudic words and phrases have passed into current use, and with them a few Greek and Latin words which came in through the Aramaic and are likewise to be found in modern Arabic, as : **LAMPA**, **QANDIL**, **LIMMEN**, **SABON**, **QARTA**, **DINAR**, **OREZ**.

Adjectives have been formed in imitation of the Arabic with the terminations **-i** fem. **-ITH**, but this had already found a place in Aramaic. Words from modern languages are for the most part confined to names of machines and inventions and to a few almost universal designations like **TEE** or **SHAI**, **QAHVEH** and **SUKER**.

There is a peculiar fondness for words on the following 'measures,' **QIZZÜR**, abbreviation, **TABSHİL**, 'cooking,' **MĖCHIRĀH**, 'sale,' **HASHLA-MĀH**, 'completion,' and **HITHNATZLŪTH**, 'an excuse.'

The disadvantages of having Hebrew as a spoken tongue are (1) A living language means change, and the theologian must exercise special care that his discussions be based on words of fixed and definite meanings ; (2) There is the risk of even copyists' errors being consecrated and sounding harsh alongside of Isaiah's classic speech. Still the advantages are incalculably on the side of dealing with a living tongue, especially one that has changed so little as Hebrew.

## APPENDIX I.

### THE "MEGILLAH" OR FLYING ROLL.

The "Megillah" is now in the Glasgow University Library and may be referred to there.

List of Contributors to the "Megillah," indicated by their initials in the Index.

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## INDEX TO ARTICLES.

*Note.*—The Roman numerals denote the Part, the ordinary numerals the page.

- Abbreviations in the pre-Masoretic Text, J. R., iv. 19.  
 Aberrations of a Hebrew Particle, by a Country Member, xxi. 17.  
 Abraham men. See Etymological.  
 Abu Zayd of Sartj, J. R. B., xx. 19.  
 Adon 'Olam and some of its Versions, with portrait of Zangwill, J. W. B., x. 18.  
 Adventures of a Megillah (No. xxvi.), J. R., xxviii. 36.  
 Algeria, Education in, T. H. W., xiii. 24.  
 Algiers, A Friday in, T. H. W., xiv. 3.  
 Alphabet, Astral origin of the Hebrew, Chart by Broome, xxvi. 44.  
 Amira, translated from Isabelle Eberhardt (illustrated), F. G. G., xxv. 18.  
 Amos, Idea of God in book of, H. Y. A., x. 40.  
 An Adventurous Soul, Isabelle Eberhardt, with two illustrations, J. R., xxiv. 28.  
 Antiphrastic Words in Semitic (Landau), J. R., xiii. 28.  
 Arabia, The Jews in (from Andrée), W. W. F., xii. 4.  
 Arabia, Poetry of, and the Ballad Problem, D. B. M., xxii. 24.  
 Arabia, Jews and Christians in (from Wellhausen), D. S. M., ix. 7.  
 Arabian Nights, On Translating the, D. B. M., ii. 19.  
 Archaeologists in Asia Minor (illustrated cutting), A. B., xxvii. 29.  
 Asseveration. See Waw.  
 Assyriology, Plea for the Study of (a cutting), G. G., i. 4. See Cuneiform.  
 Babylonia, Discoveries from (cutting), C. S. M., ix. 41.  
 Babylonian Bricks, On Certain, with illustrations, J. E. H. T., xxi. 13.  
 Baptist's (John the), debased successors (with illustration), by Dr. White, Marsovan, xxix. 39.  
 Barnabas, Gospel of (by Dr. Youngson, a cutting), xx. 28.  
 Barnabas, Discovery of the Gospel of, by Dr. Youngson, xxviii. 40.  
 Barnabas, Extracts from the Gospel of, W. F., xxix. 3.  
 Bedlam. See Etymological.  
 Beggar's Month (Kislev), The (cutting), E. M. M., xxviii. 24.  
 Ben Zion. See Nugae.  
 Bohemian Scholar, W. A. Clouston (cutting from George Eyre-Todd), with Reminiscences by J. R., xi. 17, 20.  
 Bontsie Silent (from Wiener's Yiddish Literature), G. M., xxv. 29.  
 Bookbinder of Hort (translation from Sacher Massoch), with illustrations, J. R., vi. 17.  
 Books, Of. From the Al-Fakhri, T. H. W., xviii. 36.  
 British Association Meetings through Baptist Eyes (cutting), T. Witton Davies, xxvi. 46.  
 British Jews and Queen Victoria (cutting), vii. 44.  
 Brotherhood. See Sacrament.  
 Calendar, Egyptian, for 1900-1901, J. Ma., xv. 13.  
 Caste System, Defence of (cutting from *Saint Andrew*), ii. 40.  
 Chaldee Verse in Jer. x. 11; J. Y., vi. 43, and J. E. H. T., viii. 38.  
 Chronological Harmony of the Kings of Israel and Judah, R. B. P., xxviii. 3.  
 Clouston, W. A. See Bohemian.  
 Cock Crowing, J. R., ii. 31.  
 Codera (Francisco), A Spanish Scholar, D. B. M., xxvii. 46.  
 Congress, International Oriental, at Copenhagen, T. H. W., xxviii. 16.  
 Consecrated Warriors (a quotation from Steevens), ii. 43.  
 Cosmogony, Muslim (from Al-Thalabi), A. M. and T. H. W., xv. 2.  
 Criticism, Conservative Reaction in, with portraits, E. M. M., xi. 24.  
 Cuneiform Lore, Why I thought of, vi. 4; How it was revealed, viii. 4; Some Notes on, xii. 12, G. G. See Assyriology.  
 Dalman. See Palästinsche.  
 Day (One) a thousand Years. From Rashi, T. H. W., xxvi. 39.

*deutirikus*. See *דב*.

Detective Story's Origin (illustrated cutting), W. R. S., xxvii. 26.

"Diamond cut Diamond" (illustrated cutting), W. R. S., xxx. 38.

Dillman, with portrait, C. S. M., vii. 32.

Discrepancies (or Sources?) in a Jewish Mediaeval Writer, J. R., xxvi. 41.

Dutch. See Phonetic.

Eberhardt, Isabelle, with portraits, xxiv. 28.

Egypt, Recent Discoveries (cutting from *Glasgow Herald*), i. 42.

Eleazar (Rabbi), and the Ugly Man (from the Talmud), J. R., xxx. 44.

Encyclopaedia, Jewish. See Talmud.

English Bible, The Story of, J. H. P., xx. 32, xxi. 33.

Epitaph on the Tomb of Sultan Al-Ghalib, T. H. W., xv. 44.

Errors of the Septuagint (after "Clue" by Abbott), G. M., xxix. 19.

Etymological Curiosities, Galimathias, Young Shaver, Bedlam, Abraham men, J. R., xiii. 40.

Ewald, by T. Witton Davies (cutting), with portrait, xvi. 28.

"Ex Oriente Lux" (from the *Churchman*), by Dr. G. E. White, Marsovan, xxvii. 20.

Expansion of Islam (from the French of Castries), D. S. M., xxvii. 2.

Extension (University), an open Field (with illustrations), J. R., xxvi. 7.

Feast, The Great, T. H. W., iv. 13.

"For Emulation," Johns Hopkins Seminary, viii. 2. See Semitic Studies.

Fetish Worship in India, Modern (cutting, with Editorial Note), xxvi. 40.

*Finis Coronat Opus*, J. R., xxx. 46.

Freeman's View of Mohammed and his Creed, A. M., viii. 15.

Funeral in the Desert (illustrated), from Isabelle Eberhardt, J. R., xxvi. 35.

Galimathias. See Etymological.

Germany through Baptist Eyes, by T. Witton Davies (cutting), xviii. 32.

Ghalib. See Epitaph.

"Give" and "Take," a modern story, J. R., xviii. 27.

Graven Images, Jewish (cutting), H. D., xx. 15.

Greenlees, the late Gavin (with portrait), xxvi. 3.

G.U.O.S. Meeting of 17th Oct. 1900, J. R., ii. 4.

G.U.O.S. "Before and After" Celebration of the Majority of the Society, J. R., vii. 2.

Haman and Mordecai in Janow (from *Ost und West*), J. R., xxiv. 3.

Hammurabi's Code (cutting), M. B., xiv. 41.

Hasmonean Times, Life and Religion in the, J. C., xi. 32.

Hittite Monuments (two photographs), G. E. White, Marsovan, xxvii. 18.

Horse, The responsible Editor's, with illustrations, by Office Boy, xii. 2.

Hosea, Some notes on the book of, J. R., xv. 30.

House of Wisdom (cutting from Bos-cawen), C. S. M., ix. 41.

Indian Alnaschar (*T. P's Weekly*), F. G. G., xxi. 29.

Isaiah xi. 7 (Dr. Ben Zion), ix. 37.

Islam and Arabic (from Hartmann), W. E., vii. 4. See Wellhausen.

Islam, the Essence of, by Isabelle Eberhardt, xxv. 41.

Islam. See Expansion.

Islands of the Blest (*Hommel*), with illustrations, J. W. B., xiv. 13.

Ismail, Sultan of Morocco, T. H. W., xvii. 36.

Jami. See Persian Humour.

Jeremiah, The Greek translation of (Thackeray, in *Journal of Theolog. Studies*), J. R., xvi. 21.

Jer. x. 11. See Chaldee.

Jewish Controversy in the Middle Ages (extract from the Shebhet Jehuda), J. R., xvii. 27.

Jewish Rabbi as Sherlock Holmes, H. D., viii. 29.

Jewish Sherlock Holmes, Another, W. J. S. M., xxi. 3.

Jewish Superstitions (from Berliner), J. Mi. vii. 15.

Jewish Usury and the Jewish Law (notice of Neviasky's *Rituel du Judaïsme*), J. R., xxix. 44.

- Jewish "Wit," A (from *Sacher Masoch*), with illustrations, J. R., xii. 41.
- Johns Hopkins. See *Semitic Studies*.
- Judah Hallevi's *Kitāb al Khazari* (cutting), xxii. 48.
- Kamphausen and the O.T., P. H. A., viii. 26.
- ⲓⲁ used *δακτυλῶς*, J. R., ii. 44.
- Kings. See *Chronological*.
- Ladies of Mena's Court (cutting), M. B., ix. 35.
- Lamentations iii., A study of, by G. H. Mathews, F.R.S., supplied by T. H. W., xxvi. 17.
- Lamiyat al Ajam, T. H. W., xxi. 37.
- Lamiyat al Arab, T. H. W., xx. 37.
- Latin Wedding at Jerusalem (from Pierotti), A. B., ix. 29.
- Learning, Exhortation to (from *Zamachshari*), T. H. W., xxi. 46.
- Life as a Summer Day, paraphrase from Mutanebbi, by Dr. Mackie, Beyrout, viii. 41.
- "Little ones" and "their Angels," J. R., xxii. 41.
- Love Songs, Snatches of, by Isabelle Eberhardt, xxv. 45.
- Luther's Hebrew Bible (with *fac-simile*), J. R., xi. 3, 42.
- Macalpine, the late Rev. C. S. (with portrait), xxvii. 35.
- Marabout, The name, with illustrations, J. R., vi. 38.
- Marranos, The, with portrait of Nordau, J. R., xvi. 3.
- Marriage Broker in London (cutting), with editorial annotations and illustrations, H. D., xvi. 8.
- Marriages made in heaven (from *Jewish Quarterly Review*), G. C., xiv. 24.
- Mena. See *Ladies*.
- Midnight Encounter, A, J. R., xxiii. 31.
- Midrash on Korah, from *Yalkut Shim'oni*, J. R., xviii. 19.
- Miscellany (cutting), C. S. M., xx. 31.
- Mohammed. See *Freeman*.
- Mohammedan Prayer, from the French of O. Houdas (with five illustrations), F. G. G., xxx. 3.
- Morocco, Some Notes on, from the French of M. Bérard, D. S. M., xxvi. 22.
- Morocco. See *Sheikh, Ismail*.
- Music, Nature of Hebrew (with edit. note), J. Mi., iii. 16.
- Mutanebbi. See *Life*.
- Muthill woman an Empress, xxii. 14.
- Muwatta, The, T. H. W., xvi. 37.
- Napoleon's Invasion of Egypt, H. D., xxii. 3.
- Negro Minstrel of Tunis (an illustration), xxviii. 25.
- Nepali New Year (a cutting), Rev. R. Kilgour, xxv. 42.
- Neviasky. See *Jewish Usury*.
- New Régime in Turkey, The (various cuttings), xxix. 15.
- One. See *Day*.
- Open Field. See *Extension* (University).
- Open Sesame, J. R., xxii. 17.
- Oriental Languages, Teaching of on Continent, A. R. S. K., iii. 37.
- Outwitting a Tiger (*T. P.'s Weekly*), F. G. G., xxi. 29.
- Palestine, Legend of origin of modern population of (from *Pal. Expl. Report*), xvii. 9.
- Palestine and Revelation, W. E., xvii. 16.
- Palästinische Diwan, Dalman's, W. E., x. 27.
- Papyrus. See *Pre-Masoretic*.
- Particle. See *Aberations*.
- Perquisites of the Priest, a modern Eastern story, J. R., xviii. 26.
- Persian Anecdotes (from E. G. Browne), J. Mu., xiii. 14.
- Persian Humour. From *Jami* (illustrated cutting), supplied by W. R. S., xxx. 41.
- Perthshire Romance, a Muthill woman an Empress (cutting from *Dundee News*), xxii. 14.
- Petra, The Ruins of (cutting with Note), supplied by C. S. M., xxvii. 41.
- Pharaohs, Old Testament (Flinders Petrie), M. B., xxii. 36.
- Philosophy, Plea for study of Oriental, J. L., ix. 15.
- Phonetic Coincidences, Dutch and Hebrew, J. R., ix. 44.
- Photography in the University, with illustrations, J. R., iv. 37.
- Pilgrimage to Marabout Zine (translation from the French), with illustrations, W. W. F. and T. H. W., xxiv. 15.



- Pilgrims in the Holy City (Jerusalem), illustrated cutting, supplied by C. S. M., xxvii. 44.
- Poetry, Hebrew, P. M., xiii. 4.
- Poetry. See Arabia.
- Prayer. See Mohammedan.
- Pre-Masoretic Hebrew Papyrus, A (extract), J. R., xv. 42, xviii. 12.
- Priest. See Perquisites.
- Proverb. See Talmudic.
- Proverbs, Armenian (from Lennep), J. W. B., v. 27.
- Proverbs, Some modern Jewish (Segel), J. R., xviii. 41.
- Prov. xvii. 28 (Dr. Ben Zion), ix. 37.
- Psalms. See Wellhausen.
- Psalms xvi. 11, "At thy right hand," C. S. M., ix. 27.
- Psalms xviii., Rhythmical Analysis of, R. B. P., x. 4.
- Psalms lxviii. 9 (8), Note on the LXX, rendering of, J. E. H. T., with editorial note, xvi. 13.
- Raamses, Discovery of (cutting), supplied by M. B., xxv. 47.
- Reckoning of Time and Festivals among the Jews (from Andrée), W. W. F., ix. 4.
- Recompense, The Law of. An Eastern story, J. R., xii. 3.
- Rolls of the Law in the University of Glasgow., J. R., i. 6.
- Sacrament of Brotherhood (extract from Hamlin), J. R., viii. 42.
- Sacrament of Brotherhood, J. C., xxii. 12.
- Salonica, by W. M. T. (with illustration), xxv. 3.
- Samaritan Pentateuch, Age of, J. E. H. T., iii. 4.
- Samson Myth (Steinthal), W. J. S. M., xi. 4.
- 1 Sam. xv. 17, Note on by C. S. M., xxvii. 38.
- Scripture, Muslim Doctrine of, J. R., xxii. 28.
- Seller of Shoes, T. H. W., iv. 5.
- Semitic Studies at the Johns Hopkins University (cutting), vi. 14. See "For Emulation."
- Semitic Worship, Early (Flinders Petrie, a cutting), xxiv. 27.
- Sermons, A Muslim Book of, with illustrations, T. H. W., xviii. 3.
- Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, Garments of, A. C. W., xx. 4.
- Shapira, and his Moabite pottery and Deuteronomy, with illustrations, J. R., i. 10.
- Shaver, Young. See Etymological.
- Shebhet Jehuda. See Jewish Controversy.
- Sheikh of Morocco of the Sixteenth Century, A. T. H. W., xv. 38.
- Sheikhs of Morocco, extracts from Weir's book, xxiii. 35.
- Sherlock Holmes. See Jewish.
- Ship of the Desert, J. R., xiv. 36.
- Siloam Inscription, a note on by Fischer in Z.D.M.G., with illustrations, J. R., xvi. 17.
- Sinai, Explorations at (cuttings), xxiv. 23.
- Slaves, Emancipation and Muslim Law, D. B. M. (with editorial note), v. 37.
- Soiland Character, by Isabelle Eberhardt, xxv. 46.
- Solomon, A Judgment of (from *Ost und West*), with illustrations, J. R., x. 2.
- Song, A Coffee-House, T. H. W., xiv. 44.
- Spanish Scholar. See Codera.
- Stevenson's (Prof.) Introductory Address (Report from *Glasgow Herald*), xxvi. 33.
- Stork, The name of the, in Hebrew, J. R., xvi. 42.
- Superstitions. See Jewish.
- Syriac Bible of the Brit. and For. Bib. Soc., Note on by Nestle, J. R., xxii. 38.
- Tabernacle, The Framework of the, R. B. P., xix. 2.
- Tabernacle, Furniture of, R. B. P., xxiii. 39.
- Talmud, A Twentieth Century; the Jewish Encyclopaedia (cutting), x. 25.
- Talmud, Selections from the Philosophy of (a print), xxvi. 45.
- Talmudic Proverb, A, J. R., xi. 16.
- Talmudists as Higher Critics, J. R., xxvii. 33.
- Tangier to Cape Spartel, T. H. W., iv. 9.
- Tangier to Mequinez, T. H. W., v. 4.
- Tangier to Tetuan, T. H. W., ii. 7.
- "Ten Words," The, T. H. W., xxix. 34.
- Texts in Pictures—
- Is. xlvi. 1, 2, illustrated in vii. 14.
- Psalms lxvi. 12, illustrated in viii. 28.
- Psalms cxix. 97, illustrated in ix. 36.

Thief's Profit, A, T. H. W., xxi. 46.  
 Threshold Covenant, The (after Trumbull), W. W. F., xxx. 20.  
 Tobit, J. M'G., x. 31.  
 Translator at Work, A Bible (Kilgour), J. R., xxiii. 28.  
 Turkey. See New Régime.  
 Turning of the Morning, A. C. W., with editorial note, xx. 8.

University. See Extension.  
 University Extension and Oriental Languages, J. R., iii. 23.

Usury. See Jewish.

Victoria, Queen. See British Jews.

Waw of Asseveration, J. R., xvii. 3.  
 Wedding. See Latin Marriages.  
 Wellhausen on Islam, Translation by D. S. M., xxiii. 4.  
 Wellhausen's Last Words on the Psalms, with portrait, J. R., vi. 30.  
 Wheat Corners, T. H. W., xvii. 10.  
 Words of the Wise, T. H. W., xxi. 48.

## APPENDIX II.

### LIST OF MEMBERS.

NAME.	YEAR OF ELECTION.
Professor Robertson, D.D., LL.D., - - -	1880
*James Arthur, B.D., - - -	"
Robert B. Pattie, B.D., - - -	"
***William Kean, D.D., - - -	"
**Peter Donaldson, B.D., - - -	1881
James Young, B.D., - - -	"
**James E. Houston, B.D., - - -	"
****A. Cameron Watson, B.D., - - -	"
**Alex. Stewart, B.D., - - -	"
Professor A. R. S. Kennedy, D.D., - - -	1882
**James Lindsay, D.D., - - -	"
**Wm. Grant Duncan, B.D., - - -	"
**John Taylor, - - -	"
George Anderson, D.D., - - -	1883
*Chas. S. M'Alpine, B.D., - - -	"
*Professor Dobie, B.D., - - -	"
**D. G. Manuel, B.D., - - -	"
**W. G. M'Laren, - - -	"
****James Millar, B.D., - - -	"
***Patrick H. Aitken, B.D., B.Sc., D. Litt., - - -	"
Morison Bryce, - - -	1884
Hugh Duncan, B.D., - - -	"
**James M. Hamilton, B.D., - - -	"
Robert Morris, M.A., - - -	"
*James Ingram, B.D., - - -	1885
***R. M'Cheyne Paterson, B.D., - - -	"
**John W. Henderson, B.D., - - -	"
**John W. Jack, - - -	"
*Robert Cumming, B.D., - - -	"
**Geo. S. Kerr, B.D., - - -	"
**Archibald Jamieson, M.A., - - -	"
**Thos. E. S. Clarke, B.D., - - -	"
**E. P. Philips, - - -	1886

\* Deceased.

\*\* Ceased to be a Member.

\*\*\* Corresponding Member.

\*\*\*\* Honorary Member.

## LIST OF MEMBERS

69

NAME.	YEAR OF ELECTION.
**William Muirhead, M.A.,	1887
***Professor D. B. M'Donald, D.D.,	"
**James Craig, B.D.,	"
Thos. H. Weir, B.D.,	"
David Frew, D.D.,	"
*E. J. W. Gibb, M.R.A.S.,	"
John Smith, D.D.,	"
Andrew Baird, B.D.,	1888
Robert Gardner, B.D.,	"
**Robert Jack, B.D.,	"
***Robert Kilgour, D.D.,	"
Daniel Kirkwood, B.D.,	"
*Wm. MacGill, B.D.,	"
Jas. Cromarty Smith, B.D.,	1889
*John Wilson, Ph.D.,	"
John Campbell, B.D.,	1890
Peter Adam, B.D.,	"
**Wm. M'Kean Campbell, B.D.,	"
**Hugh Armstrong, B.D.,	"
Duncan H. Brodie, B.D.,	1891
**William Howie, B.D.,	1892
Jas. W. M'Donald, B.D.,	"
Ewen M. M'Gregor, M.A.,	"
*Peter Melville, B.D.,	"
William Richmond Scott,	"
*Gavin Greenlees,	1893
David R. Alexander, B.D.,	"
Robert Burnett, B.D.,	1894
Francis G. Geddes, B.D.,	"
**Alexander Gibson, B.D.,	"
John Mack, B.D.,	"
John M'Gilchrist, B.D.,	"
**David S. Merrow, B.D.,	"
***John H. Pagan, B.D.,	"
**John C. M'Naught, B.D.,	1895
**William Swan, B.D.,	1896
***John H. H. M'Neil, B.D.,	"
W. J. S. Miller, B.D.,	1898
John W. Murray, B.A. (Oxon.),	"
**John M'A. Dickie, B.D.,	1899
J. E. H. Thomson, D.D.,	"
William Ewing, M.A.,	1900
**Hugh Y. Arnott, B.D.,	"
***Andrew M'Farlane, B.D.,	"
Robert Aitken, B.D.,	"
**James W. Baird, B.D.,	"
William W. Fulton, B.D.,	"
**George Condie, B.D.,	1901
William Fulton, B.D., B.Sc.,	"
John Muir, B.D.,	"
***T. G. Pinches, LL.D.,	"
William Rollo, M.A.,	1902
William Brownlee, B.D.,	"
**A. Boyd Scott, B.D.,	"
**R. Montgomerie Hardie, B.D.,	"
Thos. Low, B.D.,	"
***John Cameron, B.D.,	"

\* Deceased.

\*\* Ceased to be a Member.

\*\*\* Corresponding Member.

NAME.	YEAR OF ELECTION.
*Daniel M'Lean, B.D.,	1903
***Robt. B. Douglas, B.D.,	"
John T. Arnott, B.D.,	"
Norman R. Mitchell, B.D.,	"
W. Marshall Tait, B.D.,	"
***Alex. H. Harley, M.A.,	"
John M'Ara, B.D.,	"
***D. H. Gillan B.D.,	"
Jas. Robertson Buchanan, B.D.,	1904
**Wm. W. Monteith, B.D.,	"
George Muir, B.D.,	"
Brodie S. Gilfillan, B.D.,	"
Wm. M. Christie, B.D.,	"
**Jas. C. M. Fairlie, B.D.,	1905
John S. Robertson, B.D.,	"
**John A. G. Thomson, B.D.,	1906
Robt. C. Thomson, B.D.,	"
***Samuel F. Hunter, M.A.,	1907
Alex. Moffatt, B.D.,	"
J. M. Woodburn, B.D.,	"
Professor Wm. B. Stevenson, B.D., D.Litt.,	1908
Louis C. Philipps, B.D.,	"
And. C. Baird, B.Sc., B.D.,	"
A. P. S. Tulloch, B.D.,	1909
***D. F. Roberts, B.D.,	"
Duncan Cameron, B.D.,	1910
***Alex. S. Fulton, M.A.,	"
**Captain Lyons, F.R.S., D.Sc.,	"
Richard Bell, B.D.,	1911
Alex. Anderson, B.D.,	"
Professor J. E. M'Fadyen, D.D.,	1912
Thos. F. H. Graham, B.D.,	"
David Forsyth, B.A., B.D.,	"

\* Deceased.

\*\* Ceased to be a Member.

\*\*\* Corresponding Member.

## APPENDIX III.

CONSTITUTION OF THE GLASGOW UNIVERSITY  
ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

I. The Name of the Society shall be the "GLASGOW UNIVERSITY ORIENTAL SOCIETY."

II. The Object of the Society shall be the Study of the Languages, Literatures, and Histories of the East.

III. In the prosecution of this Object, the Society shall meet at stated times for the reading and discussing of papers bearing on Oriental Subjects.

IV. The Society shall be composed of such Students of Oriental Languages as shall be duly elected.

V. The Society may elect as Corresponding Members such persons permanently resident abroad as may be willing to contribute to the proceedings of the Society.

VI. The Office-Bearers of the Society shall be a President, Vice-President, two Secretaries (Corresponding and Recording), Treasurer, and an Editor of the Magazine—to be elected annually. The Secretaries and Treasurer to be resident in or near Glasgow.

VII. The Affairs of the Society shall be administered by a Committee of Management consisting of the Office-Bearers and two Members—also to be elected annually, and resident in or near Glasgow. One-third of the Committee shall form a quorum.

VIII. Each Ordinary Member shall pay an Annual Subscription, the amount of which shall be fixed from time to time by the Committee of Management.

IX. Motions affecting the Constitution and Bye-Laws shall be discussed only at the Stated Meetings of the Society, and notices of such motions must be given in writing to the Corresponding Secretary at least two months beforehand.

*Addenda.*—At the meeting on 29th April, 1908, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

- (1) That an Honorary President be appointed who shall be a member of Committee. The President to act as Chairman at all Meetings of the Society or Committee.
- (2) That an Honorary Membership be instituted, to which shall be admitted such Members as have given long and honourable service to the Society, that a Diploma shall be given to such Honorary Members stating the grounds on which the honour is conferred, and that such Honorary Members shall be elected by ballot at a General Meeting of the Society on the recommendation of the Committee after notice given in the Syllabus.

## APPENDIX IV.

### BYE-LAWS.

I. The Stated Meetings of the Society shall be held in Glasgow twice a year.

II. The Committee of Management shall draw up a programme of business for each Stated Meeting, and shall forward a copy thereof to each Member, at least a month before the Meeting.

III. Names of persons proposed for election shall be submitted to the Committee of Management at least two months before the ensuing Stated Meeting of the Society, and such names shall be inserted in the programme of business for that Meeting.

IV. In order to election, each person thus named must be proposed and seconded at the Meeting. The question shall be put to the Meeting, and the vote shall be by ballot. A majority of three-fourths of the members present shall be necessary for election.

V. At each Stated Meeting the Society shall appoint the Members who are to contribute papers at the ensuing Meeting. For this purpose a list of Members' Names, in the order of their election, shall be printed, and this shall be the order of rotation in which Members shall be called upon to contribute papers.

VI. Each Member so appointed shall indicate to the Corresponding Secretary the subject of his paper at least two months before the Meeting, and shall at said Meeting lay on the table an abstract of his paper, to be retained by the Society.

VII. The Committee of Management shall keep Minutes of all its Meetings, and shall report its proceedings to each Stated Meeting of the Society.

VIII. The Committee shall have power to summon, on occasion, Special Meetings of the Society.

IX. If any Ordinary Member be absent without reasonable excuse from three consecutive General Meetings of the Society, or if any Corresponding Member shall have ceased to show that he retains an active interest in the Society, it shall be in the power of the Committee to communicate with such Member, and thereafter, at their own discretion, to remove his name from the Roll. All such cases shall be reported to the next General Meeting of the Society.

## APPENDIX V.

### COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT.

1912.

PROF. ROBERTSON, D.D., LL.D., Honorary President.

PROF. STEVENSON, B.D., D.Litt., President.

R. B. PATTIE, B.D., Vice-President.

JAMES YOUNG, B.D., Corresponding Secretary.

GEORGE ANDERSON, D.D., Recording Secretary.

ROBERT GARDNER, B.D., Treasurer.

T. H. WEIR, B.D., Editor.

MORISON BRYCE.

HUGH DUNCAN, B.D.

**GLASGOW UNIVERSITY ORIENTAL  
SOCIETY**









**Transactions**  
of the  
**Glasgow University**  
**Oriental Society**

**Volume IV**  
**(1913-22)**

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**Rev. John Muir, B.D.**  
**Recording Secretary**

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# CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
Rev. John Muir, B.D.	
GROUP STUDY SCHEME . . . . .	5
Rev. Prof. W. B. Stevenson, D.Litt., D.D.,	
THE NAMES OF GOD IN GENESIS . . . . .	7
The late Rev. Robert C. Thomson, B.D.	
THE ORIGIN OF THE ARABIC NUMERALS . . . . .	9
The late Rev. John Cameron, B.D.	
THE JEWISH APOCALYPTIC . . . . .	13
Rev. David Frew, D.D.	
JEWISH PAPYRI OF THE FIFTH CENTURY, B.C. . . . .	15
Rev. Prof. W. B. Stevenson, D.Litt., D.D.	
THE INFLUENCE OF "COURT STYLE" ON THE MESSIANIC PHRASEOLOGY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT . . . . .	18
Rev. Prof. W. B. Stevenson, D.Litt., D.D.	
THE EARLIEST SYRIAC VERSION OF THE PENTATEUCH . . . . .	19
The late Rev. John Pinkerton, B.A. (Cantab.), B.D.	
SOME SUPERSTITIONS IN SOUTHERN INDIA . . . . .	20
Mr. Robert Morris, M.A.	
EARLY BABYLONIAN BILLS AND INVENTORIES . . . . .	21
Rev. Prof. A. C. Baird, B.D., B.Sc.	
GROUP-REPORT ON THE FIFTY OF THE PSALTER: . . . . .	22
THE PERSONAL ELEMENT IN THE PSALTER . . . . .	22
Rev. John Muir, B.D.	
THE TEMPLE IN THE PSALTER . . . . .	24
Rev. Prof. William Fulton, B.Sc., D.D.	
NATURE IN THE PSALTER . . . . .	26
Rev. C. J. Ritchie, M.A.	
THE COVENANTS IN THE PSALTER . . . . .	27
Rev. Duncan Cameron, B.D.	
THE PERSONAL FIFTY OF THE PSALTER . . . . .	29
Rev. C. J. Ritchie, M.A.	
THE CALIPHATE . . . . .	31
Rev. T. H. Weir, D.D.	
THE MISHNAH TREATISE SHABBATH AS A REFLECTION OF JEWISH SOCIAL LIFE . . . . .	34
Rev. Prof. A. R. S. Kennedy, D.D.	

	PAGE
<b>THE DAY OF JAHVE IN THE OLD TESTAMENT PROPHETS</b> . . .	35
Rev. Andrew Baird, B.D.	
<b>JOHN OF DAMASCUS AND THE CONTROVERSY WITH ISLAM</b> . . .	37
Rev. Richard Bell, B.D.	
<b>CHINESE SCRIPT AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR STUDENTS OF CHINESE HISTORY</b> . . . . .	38
Rev. Alex. R. Mackenzie, B.D.	
<b>JEWISH SUPERSTITION</b> . . . . .	41
Rev. W. M. Christie, D.D.	
<b>THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE NEW: SOME ILLUSTRATIONS</b> . . .	42
The late Rev. Robert Gardner, B.D.	
<b>THREE ARABIC CHARMS FROM DAMASCUS</b> . . . . .	44
Rev. Prof. W. B. Stevenson, D.Litt., D.D.	
<b>TWO HEBREW BIBLES OF FOUR HUNDRED YEARS AGO</b> . . .	45
Rev. B. Kilgour, D.D.	
<b>MOSLEM SCHOOLS IN SYRIA</b> . . . . .	51
Rev. J. Robertson Buchanan, B.D.	
<b>RELIGION IN ANCIENT EGYPT</b> . . . . .	54
Rev. Duncan H. Brodie, B.D.	
<b>THE MOSAIC ORIGIN OF THE DECALOGUE</b> . . . . .	56
Rev. Prof. J. E. McFadyen, D.D.	
<b>THE OPPRESSION OF THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL FROM AN EGYPTIAN STANDPOINT</b> . . . . .	56
Rev. Colin Campbell, D.D.	
<b>THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT</b> . . . . .	59
Rev. Prof. A. E. S. Kennedy, D.D.	
<b>"JOT AND TITTLE"</b> . . . . .	59
The late Rev. J. E. H. Thomson, D.D.	
<b>THE AHMADIYA MOVEMENT</b> . . . . .	61
Rev. B. B. Douglas, B.D.	
<b>PROPHETS OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY B.C.</b> . . . . .	69
Rev. C. J. Ritchie, M.A.	
<b>HEBREW SYNTAX IN THE SEPTUAGINT</b> . . . . .	71
Rev. J. P. Wilson, B.D.	
<b>RECENT RESEARCH REGARDING THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE ALPHABET</b> .	73
Rev. Prof. W. B. Stevenson, D.Litt., D.D.	
<b>LIGHT FROM THE MISHNAH ON THE EARLIER TEMPLE</b> . . . . .	76
Mr. R. B. Pattie, B.D.	
<b>NOTES ON MOSLEM TRADITIONS</b> . . . . .	78
Rev. Richard Bell, B.D.	
<b>THE PRE-ABRAHAMIC STORIES OF GENESIS: DISCUSSIONS OF PROF. D. B. MACDONALD'S ARTICLE IN "STUDIA SEMITICA ET ORIENTALIA"</b> .	80
Rev. Prof. J. E. McFadyen, D.D.	
Rev. Robert F. Chisholm, B.D.	

## CONTENTS

vii

	PAGE
<b>THE LAW OF RETALIATION IN THE EAST</b> . . . . .	82
Rev. Robert Burnett, B.D.	
<b>THE COVENANT IN THE PSALTER</b> . . . . .	84
Rev. Duncan Cameron, B.D.	
<b>THE OLD ISLAM AND THE NEW</b> . . . . .	85
Rev. John MacGilchrist, D.D.	

## APPENDICES

<b>I. TABLE OF CONTENTS OF "STUDIA SEMITICA ET ORIENTALIA"</b> .	88
<b>II. LIST OF MEMBERS OF GLASGOW UNIVERSITY ORIENTAL SOCIETY</b> .	89
<b>III. EXTRACTS FROM CONSTITUTION AND BYE-LAWS OF THE SOCIETY</b> .	91
<b>IV. OFFICE-BEARERS AND COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIETY, 1922</b> . .	92





# GLASGOW UNIVERSITY ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

## INTRODUCTION.

BY THE REV. JOHN MUIR, B.D.

THE publication of this fourth volume of the *Transactions*\* of the Glasgow University Oriental Society has been long delayed, not by willing consent of the Committee, but under compulsion of circumstance. Although it covers a period of ten years, 1913-22, it stops some distance short of the present date. The preceding volumes were published at intervals of about six years, and the Committee hopes that it will be possible to publish in 1929 another six years' volume, which will carry the record of the Society's *Transactions* down to the date of publication.

The decennium 1913-22 included the years of the Great War, which laid its arrest upon so many peaceful activities, and summoned to varied national service many members of the Oriental Society, of whom three, David Forsyth, John Pinkerton and Robert Stevenson, "jeopardised their lives unto the death."

Within the same period the Society has also suffered the loss of several of its oldest and most valued members: its Honorary President and Founder, Emeritus-Professor Robertson, who passed away on 23rd December, 1920, full of years and honour, retaining to the last the esteem and affection of his friends and former students; the Rev. William Kean, D.D., another of the four original members and first

\* Vol. I, 1901. Vol. II, 1907. Vol. III, 1913. A few copies of Vols. II and III may still be obtained from the Secretary of the Society, price 4/- each. Copies of the present volume may also be obtained from the Secretary, price 5/- each.

Recording Secretary of the Society; the Rev. James Millar, B.D., a member of the Society from its third session, an early office-bearer, and latterly an honorary member; and the Rev. George Anderson, D.D., who was admitted to membership at the same early date as Mr. Millar, served as Treasurer for seven years and as Recording Secretary for eighteen years, and edited all the previous volumes of the Society's *Transactions*. Losses subsequent to 1922 have included those of the Rev. J. E. H. Thomson, D.D.; the Rev. A. C. Watson, B.D., an early member and office-bearer and first honorary member of the Society; the Rev. Robert Gardner, B.D., after thirty-four years' tenure of the office of Treasurer; and the Rev. James Young, D.D., who was one of the first to be added in April, 1881, to the original company of four, was appointed Recording Secretary in 1882, became Corresponding Secretary in 1884, and had almost completed his forty-third consecutive year of office in the Society at the time of his tragically sudden death, which took place less than twelve hours after he had received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from his Alma Mater.

Of the group of office-bearers who for so long served the Society in unbroken fellowship there now remain only the Vice-President, Mr. R. B. Pattie, B.D., the last survivor of the four original members of the Society, whose portrait forms the frontispiece of this volume, and Dr. Thos. H. Weir, with whom should be named, in view of their long service on the Committee of Management, Messrs. Morison Bryce and Hugh Duncan.

The Society was formed in the year 1880, and 139 persons had been admitted to its membership by the end of 1922, at which date the Roll comprised 50 ordinary members, 16 corresponding members and 2 honorary members. The attendance at the half-yearly meetings during the period under review varied from a maximum of 28 to a minimum (in the last year of the war) of 12, and maintained an average of 20.

Discussion has been raised from time to time concerning two matters of domestic interest, the dates of the half-yearly meetings and the vexed question of arrears of subscription.

Monday has been repeatedly approved as the day of the week most suitable to the majority of members, and at present the appointed dates of meeting are a Monday in April other than Easter Monday and the first Monday of October. The annual subscription for ordinary members was raised in 1919 from 2/6 to 5/-, in order to expedite the accumulation of funds for the publication of the Society's *Transactions*. In view of the fact that corresponding members receive the Minutes and the *Transactions* of the Society, they have been asked since 1916 to pay an annual subscription of 2/6. The bye-law under which discipline is presently administered was adopted in October, 1917:—"When a member's subscription is unpaid for two years, the Treasurer shall at once notify him to that effect; and when his subscription is unpaid for three years, he shall be liable to have his name removed from the Roll."

During the period under review several members of the Society have attained academic distinction, receiving university degrees and appointments, and several have published volumes on subjects which fall within the range of studies cultivated by the Society. An event of special interest was the publication in 1920 by the Society, with assistance from the University Court, the University Library, and a generous friend, of the *Studia Semitica et Orientalia*, in honour of Emeritus-Professor Robertson's eightieth birthday. The articles were contributed by seven members of the Society, and the Table of Contents will be found in Appendix I. to this volume. An important feature of recent meetings has been the considerable place given to critical comments upon new books and current literature, and a detailed list of the publications to which reference has been made is included in the minutes which are issued to members after each meeting.

Of the papers which were read to the Society, two—those of Dr. Kilgour and Mr. R. B. Douglas—are now reproduced practically without omission. Of the others only abstracts could be given, and the abstract is an ungrateful form of composition, which involves the omission of much illustrative detail and suffers various literary disadvantages. Particular

attention is invited to the President's article regarding the Scheme of Group Study, which had already proved its usefulness when the growing distractions of the war years led to its suspension. The method of Group Study is of undoubted value, and one may hope that a revised scheme will be cordially taken up by members. The Table of Contents of this volume itself attests how wide a range of subjects comes under the consideration of a Society which aims at the development of all branches of Oriental Study.

PAISLEY, *July*, 1925.

## GROUP STUDY SCHEME.

BY PROFESSOR W. B. STEVENSON, D.LITT., D.D.

THE main purpose of the scheme, which had its beginning in 1909 and was reorganised in 1912, was to encourage original research by members of the Society, working together in groups. It was thought that subjects too extensive or too difficult for one individual might be successfully investigated by several working together. A plan of work, mapping out the field of enquiry in each group and assigning a portion to each worker, was a necessary preliminary. It was hoped that in some cases group leaders would continue to plan and guide the work.

Experience quickly showed (1) that it was always difficult and sometimes impossible to hold group meetings for discussion and consultation; views had to be exchanged and results circulated chiefly by correspondence; (2) that to ensure progress a group leader or secretary was needed to sum up results and to plan the successive stages of the work.

In spite of difficulties and defects a large amount of useful work was accomplished. The group that best realised the intention of the scheme was that which studied the origin and value of the Qaryan. Nine members devoted much time and labour to a classification of the Qaryan of the Old Testament and an examination of their character. Circular letters were issued from time to time summarising results and indicating the problems that emerged for solution. All the MSS. are now in the hands of the President and contain material from which a valuable treatise on the subject may yet be compiled.

Several members worked independently at the subject of Hebrew synonyms. The only study completed and published was that of Mr. J. R. Buchanan on "Verbs signifying shut, close, stop up" (*Stud. Sem. et Orient.*, 1920). Two papers were read to the Society on the use of the name Israel in Old Testament times, being introductory to the question of "the distinctive names for the Northern and Southern

Kingdoms during the period of their separation" (*Transactions*, vol. iii, pp. 51-53). Subsequently the investigation was carried further by Mr. Richd. Bell and Mr. D. F. Roberts. A complete and exact statement of the usage of the name Israel by the various writers of the Old Testament would be an important contribution to the solution of the problem presented and a useful instrument of critical research.

The members of the Psalter group also read papers before the Society (*Transactions*, vol. iv, pp. 22-31), and one of them, Mr. Duncan Cameron, delivered before the University of Glasgow a course of Hastie Lectures (1920), which were published under the title "Songs of Sorrow and Praise" (studies in the Hebrew Psalter), 1924.

The Samaritan Pentateuch was proposed as a subject of group study by Dr. J. E. H. Thomson, and he himself read a paper on the subject before the Society in April, 1912 (*Transactions*, vol. iii, pp. 55-57). In 1916 he delivered a course of Alexander Robertson lectures on the Samaritans and their history, before the University, and the substance of these lectures was published in a much expanded form in 1919 ("The Samaritans, their Testimony to the Religion of Israel").

Hebrew syntax and the Jewish cantillation of Scripture were and are still the subjects of study by individual members, who would welcome the co-operation of others with them in their investigations.

Advantage is taken of this opportunity to bring the subject of Group Study again before members of the Society. Those who wish the scheme to be revived and are willing to take a part are invited to send their names without delay to the President. It is suggested that when groups have been formed they should choose their own group leaders and that the creation of small groups, of two or three members, living near one another and able to meet regularly, should be aimed at.

Those who have recently joined the Society and have not hitherto been members of groups, are specially requested to consider the advantages of the scheme and the possibility of their taking a share in its working.

## TRANSACTIONS, 1918-22.

28th April, 1913.

At this meeting 22 members were present. It was reported that members of the Society could obtain the MS. "Megillahs" now deposited in the University Library, for use outside the Library, on permit granted by the President or the Corresponding Secretary. Two papers, of which abstracts are given, were read.

### THE NAMES OF GOD IN GENESIS.

BY THE LATE REV. ROBERT C. THOMSON, B.D.

An examination of the distribution of the names **יהוה** and **אלהים** in Genesis, with reference to its bearing upon the critical hypothesis as stated by Profs. Driver and Skinner, discloses some interesting facts.

In chapters 10-16, in the Massoretic Text, **אלהים** never occurs. We find in these seven chapters, **אל עליון** 4 times, **אדני** twice, and **אל** once. In all other cases, **יהוה** is used, with unfailing uniformity, about 35 times. Yet this does not prevent the critics from assigning 10 separate passages to P, 1 to an unknown source, and 1 to a "redactor." It is obvious that this analysis is based only very indirectly on the use of the divine names.

Leaving out chapters 18<sup>1</sup> to 19<sup>38</sup>, in which also **אלהים** is never used, we find a passage running from chapter 17<sup>1</sup> to chapter 23<sup>30</sup> in which **אלהים** occurs some 31 times and **יהוה** only 9 times; but these 9 instances of **יהוה** are of peculiar interest, as only 2 of them occur in the 8 J sections which the critics discern here; the remaining 7 being distributed as follows: 2 in P, 1 in E, and 4 assigned to the redactor. In this passage, therefore, the use of the divine names not only affords little help to the critic but even causes him some inconvenience.

In chapters 25<sup>19</sup> to 26<sup>38</sup> **אלהים** occurs only once, and that one instance is in a J section, yet the differentiation of sources goes on

as usual. In chapters 27-28 יהוה and אלהים are both used in such inextricable juxtaposition that the critics simply assign the most of the passage to JE without attempting further analysis.

In chapter 29<sup>1-30</sup> there is no mention of God under any designation, yet the critical analysis is most intricate. In chapters 30-36 we find great uniformity in the use of אלהים. There are only 6 instances of יהוה, and in the case of 4 of these there is strong textual evidence in favour of אלהים being the correct reading. In that case we have in these seven chapters אלהים 46 times and יהוה twice. But again this impressive uniformity does not deter the critics from an elaborate analysis of these chapters into about 20 different fragments. In one of these fragments we have יהוה once and אלהים 7 times, yet this passage is assigned to the J source.

In chapter 37 we have an exceedingly intricate analysis, into 21 fragments, which can hardly be based upon the use of the divine names, since no name of God occurs in the passage.

In chapters 38-39 there is only one use of אלהים, and that is in a J section. But the most remarkable phenomenon of all is in chapters 40-50. In these last eleven chapters there is the utmost uniformity in the use of אלהים. Twice we find אל שדי and once the two words אל and שדי standing separately. יהוה occurs only once, in the solitary expression "I have waited for Thy salvation, O Lord." Otherwise only אלהים is used, in all about 37 times. Yet the critics assign here 9 sections to P; 13 to J; 10 to E; 6 to JE; and 2 to R.

The usage of the divine names in these chapters not only gives little support to this elaborate analysis—it is even positively against it. Chapter 43<sup>15-22a</sup> has אלהים twice, יהוה never, yet it is assigned to J. Chapters 43<sup>24</sup>-44<sup>34</sup> have אלהים 4 times, and יהוה never, yet this also is assigned to J. These facts appear to suggest that the bearing of the use of the divine names upon the critical hypothesis is not what it is popularly supposed to be. Out of 64 sections in Genesis assigned to P, only 16 contained the word אלהים. The remaining 38 sections are assigned to P without this criterion. On the other hand, in the passages assigned to J, we find אלהים no less than 22 times, in the Massoretic Text, taking no account of the Greek variants which would greatly increase that number. יהוה also occurs in P sections.

The critical analysis is also said to be based upon linguistic differences. Prof. Skinner, in his commentary on Genesis, catalogues a number of expressions in the flood story which are said to be characteristic of P and others which are supposed to belong to J.



An examination of these differentia is interesting. There is *איש ואשתו* twice in J answering to *זכר ונקבה* which occurs twice in P. But the latter expression, curiously enough, also occurs twice in the same chapter in J, which rather damages the impressiveness of the argument. There is *מחה* in J answering to *שחת* and *השחית* in P. But *שחת* occurs in Gen. 13<sup>10</sup> which is J, and *השחית* in Gen. 19<sup>13</sup> which is J. We have *מות* in J answering to *גוע* in P. But *מות* occurs in Gen. 9<sup>28</sup>, 23<sup>3</sup>, 25<sup>8</sup>, and no less than 8 times in chapter 5, all of which are P passages. *שוב* in J answers to *חזר* in P. These expressions occur here only once. *שוב* occurs here in the phrase *ישבו המים* in J, but this identical phrase occurs also in Exod. 14<sup>28</sup> which is P.

*חרב* in J answers to *יבש* in P. The former of these expressions occurs here only once in J, and *it occurs also once in the same chapter in P*. The latter of those expressions occurs here only once in P, and *it occurs also once in the same chapter in J*. These are strange facts, and they suggest that the support afforded to the critical hypothesis by the linguistic differentia is about equal to that afforded by the usage of the divine names.

## THE ORIGIN OF THE ARABIC NUMERALS.\*

BY THE LATE REV. JOHN CAMERON, B.D.

FOR many years it has been known that the Arabic numerals came originally from India. A comparison between Indian and European figures, on the one hand, and the Arabic numerals of the present day, on the other, suggests the theory that the complete Indian system of notation, which came into use in Italy at the end of the fourteenth century, did not reach Europe by the older overland route through Persia and Baghdad, but directly by the Red Sea and Egypt, or by caravan through Yemen and the Hedjaz to Jerusalem and Syria. Leonard of Pisa, who visited the Near East in the thirteenth century, was already acquainted before he began his travels with the nine unit numerals of our modern notation; up to the fourteenth century, however, calculation in Western Europe was carried on either in Roman numerals or in modern figures without the cipher. The cipher was therefore invented in India subsequently to the communication of the Indian decimal notation, with the original nine figures, to the Arabs in Baghdad in the eighth and ninth centuries.

Many facts support this conclusion—e.g., among the Arabs the sign for zero is still the Sanskrit *bindu* or point, which in India

\* [Cf. *The Hindu-Arabic Numerals*, by D. E. Smith and L. C. Karpinski. Glinn and Co., 1911.]

originally signified a lacuna in the MS.; this was also the earliest Indian sign for the zero of the decimal notation.

Our symbol for nullity was in use in India in the eleventh century, but its origin is still obscure. In India it was written exactly like the Greek minuscule omicron and has been therefore identified with the first letter of *ouden* (nothing). It would be interesting to have the Greek origin of the cipher demonstrated; but so far the writer has seen only conjecture on the point. The old Indian symbol for ten

○ is obviously like the modern zero, and its place in the order of the figures may have suggested its transformation into a zero sign; but there is no trace of the use of the sign ○ as the equivalent of

zero, which was always denoted by a point until the cipher came into use. The Greek o was used by Ptolemy in the second century A.D. to denote the sexagesimal zero, which we still use in astronomy and navigation, and it looks as if the sign had survived in Alexandria and was brought back to India to denote the new decimal zero in the tenth or the eleventh century, after the Indian system had reached Egypt.

The prototypes of the other nine figures of our notation were in use in South India as early as 300 B.C., and must therefore have been in use at a still earlier date in North India whence the Buddhists brought them. The Buddhist monks lived during the rainy season in rock-hewn caves, many of which can still be seen in the vicinity of Bombay; on the walls are found inscriptions recording various gifts made by the people for the support of the monks. Numbers, both in words and in figures, appear in the inscriptions, the language of which is not Sanskrit but the Prakrit or educated speech of the time and district.

The following signs\* were copied by the writer from the Pandu Lena caves near Nasik. The oldest cave in this group was excavated about 100 B.C. and the last about A.D. 500. There is hardly any variation in the written characters throughout the period.

—	=	≡	4 or X	┌	ㄣ
1	2	3	4	5	6
7	ㄣ	3	○	3	9
7	8	9	10	100	1000


\* Re-drawn from a copy of Mr. Cameron's MS. made by the Rev. J. Robertson Buchanan, B.D.

The resemblance between the ancient and the modern signs for 6, 7, 8, and 9 is at once apparent; our 1, 2, and 3 are only the primitive numeration marks — = ≡ written cursively, as they would be on bark or on paper, thus — 2 3 1 2 3.

The 4 (4) is evidently the original of the Arabic ٩; and the alternative and simpler sign X is the original of our 4 and also of 4. As to our 5, it looks as if it had been developed out of the modern Arabic ٥, thus: ٥ 5 5; but the earliest European form of this unit sign is ٧ or ٩.\*

The question of the origin of the Indian numeral symbols was found to be one of the most obscure problems that Sanskrit scholarship has ever had to face. 1, 2, 3 (— = ≡) were clearly archaic notation marks such as were used by the Egyptians and the Romans on the Mediterranean, and by the Babylonians in Mesopotamia. The Egyptians and the Babylonians did not get beyond notation marks, although in hieratic writing development into or towards independent symbols takes place. But from the beginning our figures 4 to 9 were independent and articulate signs, and were therefore probably phonetic symbols. They were found to be identical in form with a corresponding number of letters of the oldest alphabet in North India, though no connection could at first be proved. Taken as letters the symbols could not be shown to be acrological in any known Indian language. Nor was it possible to recognise in them a value such as the Hebrews and Greeks gave to the letters of their alphabets, determined by the position of the letters in the order of the alphabet. Then about forty years ago, the distinguished Bombay scholar, Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrāji, suggested that the numeral signs were syllabic and that they represented the ancient Brahminical system of mnemonic numeral syllables which had existed in India before the introduction of alphabetic writing. For example, the symbol for 3000 was pronounced "the Ramas," and that for 700 was read as "the mountains." This practice was itself a survival from the time when apparently the Brahmins had no written symbols for

\* [G. F. Hill, *Arabic Numerals in Europe* (1915), p. 28.]

numbers, nor indeed for words. The only evidence of the existence of some kind of numeral marks before the use of letters is given by the signs for one, two, and three, which are evidently primitive, and which have still a vocalic value (u, ū, ū-u) in some parts of India. When letters came into use, numeral values were still expressed by written syllables, as they had before been expressed by spoken ones. Thus instead of saying, as they would in conversation, "sapta" or "hapta" for "seven," they would say "a" in reading the figure 7, for that was the phonetic value of the sign. Similarly, instead of reading  (8) as "ashta" (eight), they would say "ba."

The Brahminical system of numeral syllables or of numeration by syllables survived in India into Buddhist times; and it seems to have been the Buddhist merchants and teachers who simplified the system and who gave the former letters the numerical values which they have ever since represented. It is known that they called the figures 1, 2, 3, *eka*, *dvi*, *tri* (one, two, three), just as we do; and it was in Buddhist India that arithmetic was studied and the whole of our present notation perfected. The great discovery of the use of the cipher has obscured the importance of this earlier invention of a convenient set of figures; and yet it is doubtful if the cipher could have been invented in any other country than India. The Greeks missed it, and it was probably the want of a set of suitable signs that hampered them in their deep and long study of the qualities of numbers. Compared with all other ancient systems of arithmetical notation, the old Indian system is easy and convenient: and it is not surprising that with such materials to work with the clever Indian mathematicians were the first to discover the use of the cipher.

*13th October, 1913.*

This meeting was attended by 28 members. Congratulations were extended to Canon Rollo on his appointment to the Lectureship in Hebrew in Trinity College, Toronto, and to the Rev. Wm. Ewing on his receiving the degree of D.D. from Glasgow University. The Society agreed to put on record its condemnation of the unfounded accusations of the practice of ritual murder, brought against the Jews, in Russia and elsewhere, and authorised the Hon. President,

President and Secretaries to sign on behalf of the Society a Memorial prepared by the Jewish community in Glasgow. Two papers, of which abstracts are given, were read.

### THE JEWISH APOCALYPTIC.

BY THE REV. DAVID FREW, D.D.

The awakening of interest in Jewish Apocalyptic is an outstanding incident of modern theological study. It must be seriously reckoned with, not only in the consideration of Judaism, but in the study of Christian origins.

Apocalyptic must not be confounded with Eschatology. Eschatology is the doctrine of the Last Things, which may vary from time to time; Apocalyptic is a body of literature which deals, among other things, with the destinies of man and the world, and so contains an Eschatology, like the Prophetic and New Testament books.

There is reason to believe that extant apocalypses are but surviving specimens of an extensive esoteric literature (cf. 4 Ezra 14<sup>44-46</sup>). They date from 200 B.C. to A.D. 100, and are, in approximately chronological order: part of Ethiopian Enoch, Daniel, Third Book of Sibylline Oracles, Jubilees, Psalms of Solomon, Assumption of Moses, Slavonic Enoch, Ascension of Isaiah, Baruch, and 4 Ezra. Others are known from citations in early church fathers, and a few titles are extant of apocalypses that have disappeared. The following Christian writings exhibit the same features: canonical Book of Revelation, Apocalypse of Peter, Shepherd of Hermas, and the Christian portions of Sibylline Oracles, Ascension of Isaiah, and 4 Ezra.

The first questions relate to the history and determination of the *texts*. Materials for their discussion are now available to the ordinary English reader in Charles' great work: *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*. None of the original texts, except those of Daniel and the Sibylline Oracles, have so far come to light. Slavonic Enoch, like the Sibylline Oracles, is generally supposed to have been written in Greek; in other cases a Hebrew or Aramaic background is posited, though some difference of opinion exists as to Baruch and 4 Ezra.

A further series of questions is raised by the *literary aspect* of the apocalypses. I. Their composite nature. Here students of Apocalyptic are divided into two schools—the Tradition-historical and the Literary-critical, the latter of which seems at present to be in the ascendant. II. Their enigmatic form. Whatever motives may have been at work—political, religious, or purely literary—the result is to furnish problems for the modern interpreter, whose dating of the apocalypses and critical analysis of them depend largely upon his historical application of their symbols. III. Their employment

of visions. Seers and soothsayers at all times have been partial to the visionary method, and this form of revelation was used with growing frequency and elaboration by the older prophets of Israel. In Ezekiel and Zechariah it had become the chief method of communicating the divine revelations. IV. Their pseudonymous authorship. Later prophecy, to a large extent, had become anonymous; Apocalyptic took the further step of becoming pseudonymous, probably from a combination of reasons, such as the personal safety of the writers, their insignificance and want of authority, or their use of materials already associated with great names of the past. Here, as in their other literary forms, the Apocalyptists came ultimately to use pseudonymity as a mere literary device.

That there was no intention to deceive is evident from the *spirit* and *purpose* of the Apocalyptists. They were men of zeal and faith, who wrote to sustain their fellows in trouble and persecution. Still, they did not altogether avoid the dangers incidental to unrestrained religious excitation—and so became sometimes morbid and irreverent.

In the *matter* of the apocalypses, there is much that is scarcely now of antiquarian interest, but much also of the greatest importance. In their re-reading of unfulfilled prophecy, as well as in their admixture of traditional and mythological elements, they are largely derivative; their originality chiefly consists in their fresh expositions of the old matter, and new applications of it to their own times. Their great problem is the apparent frustration of the hopes which God Himself had inspired, in His promises of national restoration and supremacy. Their earlier solutions follow prophetic lines, and depict the coming consummation as a vindication of Israel and establishment of the Messianic kingdom in this world. Later, they postulate a purely catastrophic end to things, in which the present world-order will be abolished, and a new, supersensuous, eternal order inaugurated. Sometimes these solutions are set down, side by side, in the same book; sometimes an attempt is made to combine them, and we have the hybrid presentation of a temporary and earthly Messianic kingdom followed by a heavenly state of final rewards and punishments. Into this varying scheme of thought, the Apocalyptists fit as best they can their peculiar doctrines of the Messiah, the resurrection, the final judgment, angels, demons, and so forth.

The determination of the *place* and *value* of Apocalyptic in the general development of religion requires that it be considered from three distinct points of view, according as it stands related to Prophecy, Pharisaism, and Christianity. I. It is essentially derivative or dependent upon Prophecy, both in form and matter, but at the same time departs from it and becomes original, in its reflections upon the past, its applications to the present, and its speculations upon the unseen and future. II. In contradistinction to Pharisaism,

it emphasised the ideals of the prophets rather than the Mosaic Law; yet, till after the Fall of Jerusalem, it was tolerated by the Pharisees, and took its place in their system as a kind of Higher Theology. III. Its relation to Christianity is now attracting keen attention. The true attitude to this question will be found to lie somewhere between the two extremes of depreciating Christianity as a mere phase in the progress of Apocalyptic, and ruling out Apocalyptic altogether as a determining influence in the shaping of Christian thought. Apocalyptic was undoubtedly the side of Judaism with which Christianity had most affinity, but it is no more to be identified with it than with the Zealotism in which some factors of it were exhausted, and which brought irreparable disaster to the Jewish state.

## JEWISH PAPYRI OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

By PROFESSOR W. B. STEVENSON, D.LITT., D.D.

The publication in the years 1906, 1907 and 1911 of Jewish papyri belonging to the century of Malachi, Ezra and Nehemiah is a great event in the history of Old Testament studies.\* They were found in the island of Yeb or Elephantine, opposite Assuan, in the years 1904 and 1907. Exclusive of ostraca and papyrus fragments of the same period, the documents in fair preservation number about forty. They are mostly legal documents, but other kinds of literature are also represented. Eight of the papyri are quite precisely dated, the earliest in 494 B.C., the latest in 400 B.C.

The Jews who lived in Yeb seem to have served the Persians as a frontier garrison. But they were already settled in Yeb before the conquest of Egypt by the Persians, i.e. before 526 B.C. (official papyrus letter). Possibly they entered the country first in the reign of Psammetik II (593-588 B.C.), who is said to have employed Jewish mercenaries in one of his Ethiopian campaigns (letter of Aristes). Very likely their numbers were increased after the fall of Jerusalem (Jer. 42-44) and also in the Persian period. The list of rate-payers or subscribers to the funds of the local temple in the year 419 B.C. contains about 130 names, of whom more than thirty are women. It may, therefore, be guessed that the community at that time numbered about 650 persons in all.

The language of the new documents is Aramaic, which shows the hold that Aramaic already had upon the Jews of the Persian Empire.

\* The primary editions are those of Sayce and Cowley (*Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan*, with 27 facsimiles, London, 1906) and Eduard Sachau (*Arämaische Papyrus und Ostraka*, with 75 facsimiles, Leipzig, 1911). Since this paper was written a complete collection of these and other texts has been published by A. Cowley (*Aramaic Papyri of the 5th Century B.C.*, Oxford, 1923).

Certain Hebrew technical expressions are, however, still employed in the legal documents (אֱלֹהִים, אֱלֹהֵי, etc.). The divine name is always written יְהוָה.

Our knowledge of the development of Hebrew writing gains greatly from the new material. The alphabet used is a transition between the early Semitic alphabet and the later square character. A few letters retain definitely the old forms (especially א, ב, ג, ד; see facsimile below). Of the remainder, about one-half are transition forms, and the other half are practically the new letters. There is no distinction between medial and final forms. The only forms of א, ב, ג, ד, are those which afterwards were restricted to use as finals. It may be noted, as having a bearing on the textual criticism of the Old Testament, that the letters most likely to be confused were (1) the group ה, ו and י, (2) נ and ד. Neither ב and ג, nor ה and ו, nor י and י, nor ד and ד are likely to be confused. א and ב, ה and ג, ו and נ, י and י might sometimes be mistaken for one another. Some single letters might also be read as two and *vice versa* (e.g. ו = י).

The early Semitic numerals have long been known from their use in Aramean and Phœnician and other inscriptions (Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der Epigraphik*, 1898). The papyri supply the first examples of their use in Jewish documents. Specimens are here given.\*

In the bottom line (reading from left to right) are the symbols for 10, 20, 100, 1,000 (=אלף), two letters of the word אלף and 10,000. The last of these occurs only once in the papyri and is, I suppose, unique. The first and second lines contain actual numbers (1,575 and 446) and show how the numeral signs were combined. The digits are represented by the necessary number of perpendicular strokes.

The papyri also supply a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the Hebrew calendar in Old Testament times. Evidently the year began in spring and the months were lunar months. Intercalation took place at irregular intervals and apparently might be accomplished either in spring or autumn, as among the Babylonians (see *Amer. Jrn. of Sem. Lang. and Lit.*, vol. xxvii, April, 1911).

The coins mentioned are the *keresh*, the *sheqel*, the *hallūr* and what

\* The reproductions are from epidiaseopic tracings, which I owe to the kindness of my colleague Professor T. H. Bryce. The upper line is taken from Papyrus 61 (Sachau, Plate 52, line 11), the middle line from Papyrus 19 (Sachau, Plate 22, col. 3, line 6), and the specimens of the figures from Plates 4, 15 and 52. In the upper line the break through the centre is due to the condition of the papyrus and elsewhere also there are defects in outline partly due to disappearance of the original ink. As here shown the figures are half size.



is probably a  $\frac{1}{2}$  sheqel, denoted by ר (רבע). 10 sheqels = 1 kersh. 40 hallurin = 1 sheqel. The kersh may have been a Persian unit, the sheqel and hallūr were both Babylonian.

Several documents were selected for special comment: (1) The letters addressed by the community to the governors of Judah and Samaria, (2) the Aramaic translation of the Behistun rock inscription of Darius I, (3) the list of subscribers or rate-payers to the funds of the Jewish temple, (4) the remains of the story of Ahiqar.

(1) gives the names of the governor of Judah at the end of the 5th century B.C., Bagohi, and of the Jerusalem High-priest, Johanan, and refers to the governor of Samaria, Sanballat, who is to be identified with Nehemiah's opponent.

(2) is a copy of a document circulated by Darius I to his subjects and is referred to in the rock inscription of Behistun itself.

(3) has already been mentioned. It is particularly important because it appears to refer to two Canaanite goddesses associated with Jehovah in the worship of his temple. They are called ענת and ביתאל (cf. Am. 8<sup>14</sup>, 2 Kings 17<sup>30</sup>). In these names Bethel is itself a divine name and presumably was understood by the Jews to denote Jehovah (cf. Zech. 7<sup>3</sup> in a proper name). The name ענת ירו also occurs as the name of a deity alongside of ירו in one of the papyri. It may be interpreted to mean "‘Anāth the associate of Iāhū."

(4) This new version of the famous story of Ahiqar is the oldest yet known. No doubt it circulated amongst all the Aramaic-speaking peoples of the Persian Empire, and it may even have been composed first in Aramaic, although possibly it had been already translated from a Babylonian original. There is evidence that it was translated into Greek in the 4th century B.C. and made a contribution to the fables of Æsop.

27th April, 1914.

Twenty-five members were present. The Corresponding Secretary was authorised to accept an invitation to join the General Committee of the Congress of Orientalists to be held at Oxford in 1915. Three papers were read: abstracts of two are given: the third was entitled "Worship of Sun, Moon, and Heavenly Host, as indicated and as superseded in the Old Testament," and was contributed by the Rev. Alex. Anderson, B.D.

# THE INFLUENCE OF "COURT STYLE" ON THE MESSIANIC PHRASEOLOGY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.\*

BY PROFESSOR W. B. STEVENSON, D.LITT., D.D.

For "God save the King" the Hebrews said "May the King live for ever," and as one of the standing titles of the king they used the expression "Anointed of Jehovah." Such phraseology as "thine house and thy kingdom shall be made sure for ever before thee; thy throne shall be established for ever" (2 Sam. 7<sup>16</sup>) must also have been regularly used in Hebrew "court style." Some of this current phraseology may be identified by reference to Babylonian sources. In Isaiah 40-45 the prophet says that Jehovah has called Cyrus by name and has taken him by the hand. The Babylonians speak in the same way of the relation of Marduk to the kings of Babylon. "Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee" (Psalm 2<sup>7</sup>) resembles a Babylonian formula of adoption (Gunkel). The very nature of the phrase "he shall have dominion from sea to sea and from the River (Euphrates) to the ends of the earth" points to Babylonia as the country of its origin.

Assuming that there was a legal phraseology and a court style similar to that of Babylonia current in ancient Israel, Gressmann further argues that these are the main source of the Messianic phraseology of the O.T. or of what he calls its eschatological style.

In a prayer to the Seven gods these words occur: "May the sick live and the lame walk and the prisoner be released and the captive be freed and he that is imprisoned see the light," and in a courtier's letter to Ashurbanipal it is said "old men dance and children sing, women and girls marry and bear children . . . those who were in prison many years thou hast set at liberty; those who were ill for many days have been restored; the hungry are satisfied, the wasted have become robust and the naked have been clad with garments."

In these quotations there is a certain amount of exact correspondence with phraseology that is characteristic of "Messianic prophecy" and, still more, there is a general resemblance of character which is highly significant. It will be sufficient to quote Isaiah 35<sup>5-6</sup> in comparison: "Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. Then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb shall sing." Descriptions of Jewish national world dominion and of the world power of Jehovah provide special occasion for the use of the current phraseology of court style and, according to Gressmann, supply numerous examples of it.

\* Based upon a section of Hugo Gressmann's *Ursprung der Israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie* (1905).

"They shall bow down to thee with their faces to the earth and lick the dust of thy feet" (Isaiah 49<sup>22</sup>) are not so likely to have been words coined by the prophetic author as current phrases applied by him to his special theme.

The principle of interpretation thus suggested by Gressmann is novel and promises to be fruitful. It would be absurd to reduce the passages in question to mere combinations of stereotyped phraseology, but the presence of such phraseology may now be assumed and ought to be taken account of. There is doubtless abundant scope for further investigation of Babylonian literature in search of parallels to O.T. literature. The Tell Amarna letters may also be drawn on for a contribution and the recently published 5th century Jewish papyri. These latter will certainly supply examples of stereotyped legal and epistolary formulæ, which have not hitherto been known or recognised.

## THE EARLIEST SYRIAC VERSION OF THE PENTATEUCH

BY THE LATE REV. JOHN PINKERTON, B.A. (CANTAB.), B.D.

Ancient MSS. of the Pentateuch in Syriac fall into two main classes:

- (a) those presenting a text which is marked by great literalness and close adhesion to the original Hebrew text. This type of text is found only in a few MSS., and is best preserved in B.M. Add. 14,425 (written A.D. 464) and Flor. Laur. Or. 58 (9th century).
- (b) those presenting a text which is a good, but somewhat free rendering of the original Hebrew. This type is found in many MSS., of which the *Codex Ambrosianus* in Milan is perhaps the best example, and is little different from the text printed in the Polyglots.

The literal type of text seems to have been the type most familiar in the 4th century A.D. The Biblical quotations of Aphraates and Ephraem show many more agreements with readings characteristic of the first class of MSS. than with readings characteristic of the second class of MSS. It may therefore be assumed that the literal type is the older.

Other evidence, stylistic and grammatical, points to the conclusion that the second type of text was derived from the first by a lengthy and unsystematic process of stylistic improvement.

The version, the general characteristics of the earliest form of which have now become known, was made, most probably by Jews,

sometime in the 2nd century A.D. It was very literal, and followed the original Hebrew very closely, *e.g.* in the order of words, and by the use of Syriac words of the same root as the Hebrew word.

The Hebrew text which it presupposes, *i.e.* the Hebrew text of the 2nd century A.D., was very similar to the Massoretic text. In the use of the Peshitta for textual emendation of the Pentateuch care ought to be taken to distinguish whether it is the earlier or the later form of the version that is being considered.

The comparatively early disappearance of the older type of text may have been due to the standardisation of a form of the fuller text in the 5th century A.D.

12th October, 1914.

This meeting was attended by 20 members. Two papers were read.

### SOME SUPERSTITIONS IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

By MR. ROBERT MORRIS, M.A.

It is a general belief in Southern India that the world is peopled by a vast number of spirits, generally malevolent, whom man must propitiate by offerings or combat by charms and spells. These spirits consist of demons and the spirits of the human dead, especially those who have died a violent or a premature death—of whom the ghosts of women who have died in childbirth are specially malignant.

Fortunately spells have a great efficacy, when carefully pronounced, in overcoming evil spirits. It is immaterial whether they are used knowingly or intentionally: but it is all important that they should be accurately pronounced and clearly articulated.

Evil spirits may be thwarted by hanging up or laying down the leaves of certain plants on the paths by which they must travel from one village to another. Margosa is specially efficacious: also the smell of burning hair, leather, horns, etc. Strips of clothing hung on thorn bushes will avert danger from travellers, and the bells hung round the necks of cattle, if hung up in certain places, will avert or remove disease from these cattle.

Sacrifice of animals, or even of cocoanuts, oil, and grain, is also necessary to conciliate these spirits. No building, at least of any importance, is safe unless the demons have been propitiated by a sacrifice. In former times this sacrifice was a human one.

When a man or woman dies at what might be called the naturally appointed time, his spirit at once joins the company of the dead

and does not concern itself with the living. But in the case of premature death the ghost is not admitted into the society of the dead until after the lapse of the time at which his natural death might be expected. During this interval it roams at large, causing evil to the surviving friends, their children and their cattle, unless propitiated or unless its activities are thwarted by special means. Among the latter are mutilations of the corpse, especially of the legs, so as to prevent the ghost using the spiritual counterparts of them. Among the former are sacrificial feasts and offerings, similar to the offerings made to demons described above.

## EARLY BABYLONIAN BILLS AND INVENTORIES.

BY PROFESSOR A. C. BAIRD, B.D., B.Sc.

The tablets exhibited and described, twelve in number, were the property of Charles R. Cowie, Esq., Woodend House, Partickhill. They were acquired by him by purchase from a Greek who held a high position in the Post-Office at one of the leading seaports in Asiatic Turkey, by whom they were probably confiscated as contraband (being antiquities, they were forbidden by Turkish law to be exported) and then sold for his own private profit. We have no trace of how or when or where the tablets were excavated, but happily they themselves can inform us a good deal as to their origin. They are all dated in the Dynasty of Ur, in the reigns of Bur Sin, Gimil Sin and Dungi, or dating about 2500-2300 B.C. Two of the tablets have their place of origin mentioned. Lagaš, the modern Tello, and the others were probably either from the same place or from Ur—the Modern Mugheir in southern Babylonia. If we accept the view that Abraham was a contemporary of Hammurabi, these tablets were written in or near Ur of the Chaldees, Abraham's native city, 200-300 before the birth of the patriarch. Tentative translations of some of the tablets which are written in the cuneiform in early Semitic Babylonian, with many Sumerian words interspersed, were given.

The two tablets from Lagaš are "quartermaster's stores' receipts"—accounts of the supplies of food, etc., issued to the officers of the garrison at Lagaš in the reign of Bur Sin.

One of the tablets, dated in the reign of the same king, is still contained in its clay envelope, sealed by the impression of a cylindrical seal. From what is written on the outside, it would appear that the document inside is a receipt for grain. Another tablet, the envelope of which has been broken in modern times, is remarkably clear in its writing, and is a receipt for certain sums in silver.

A tablet of the reign of King Dungi is a shepherd's receipt to his master, recounting the additions to his flocks and the sheep that have been lost, and the amount of corn consumed.

A statuette of Ištar, Queen of Heaven (the Ashtoreth of the O.T.), belonging to the time of the Ur Dynasty, circa 2400 B.C., was also exhibited.

A seal cylinder, of black hematite, with two human figures and an animal crouching between them engraved on it, was also shown. The inscription on the seal cylinder is:—" . . . nanurum, the son of Nidua, the servant of Ninsiarna." The writer hopes to publish a full account of the tablets with transliteration, translation, etc., when his work on them is complete.

26th April, 1915.

At this meeting 23 members were present. Four short papers were read by members of the Psalter Group, and of these abstracts are given below, together with the abstract of a paper dealing with the same subject which was read at a later meeting of the Society. Emeritus-Professor Robertson gave an exposition of Psalms 8 and 131. Mr. T. H. Weir also read a paper on the Caliphate, and submitted an illustrative genealogical table, which is reproduced below.

### THE PERSONAL ELEMENT IN THE PSALTER.

BY THE REV. JOHN MUIR, B.D.

The main contention of this paper was that the Psalter does contain and set forth a personal religion, not simply religion in the aspect of ritual observance or national adherence to a covenant-relation with JHWH, but religion in the aspect of personal, individual piety, a personal relation to a personal God. No attempt is made to group the psalms according to date or to distinguish the piety of one age from the piety of another.

All students of the subject are familiar with the theory, put forward in its absoluteness by Smend (*Ueber das Ich der Psalmen*), that the speaker of the Psalter is the personified Israel; and even those who reject the theory in its extreme form may lay so much stress upon formal conceptions—for instance, the conception of the covenant-relation between Israel and JHWH—as to obscure the spontaneity and simplicity of the piety of the Psalter. That there are psalms in which it is more natural to hear the voice of the nation

than the voice of the individual, even conservative critics admit; but there are many expressions throughout the Psalter (for instance, in Pss. 23, 39, 51) which cannot be plausibly interpreted otherwise than as the expression of personal sentiment. These, it may be said, are only the details of personification, vivid details not always properly applicable to a community; but when the details fit the theory of personification so ill, why press the theory so far? Moreover, it is always possible that within the limits of a single psalm the writer may pass from the expression of personal sentiment to the expression of national or church sentiment, and vice versa.

Allowing that there is personification in the Psalter, one must ask, Was such religious personification possible without personal piety? Could the psalmists describe the religious consciousness of the nation in terms of individual experience, unless they themselves had had such experience? Why should they? And how could they? Are we to suppose that they knew religion only as national, and yet described it as personal? Even if the individual Israelite could be supposed to have estimated his relationship to JHWH simply in terms of his participation in the national life and worship, the very idea of such a relationship and the emotions to which it gave rise constituted a personal religion for him. His membership in the community was a personal thing, and also his share in the covenant blessings, and his participation in the worship of the sanctuary. All these meant something to his own soul. JHWH's concern might be with Israel rather than with the individual Israelite; yet this national relationship gave to the individual a peculiar value and dignity, and created for him a special relationship to JHWH.

Nor is the fact without importance for our present argument, that so many generations of men have found in the psalms nourishment for their spiritual life. The explanation is not simply that each generation reads into the ancient language its own religious conceptions and emotions. The authentic voice of personal piety is in these writings: deep calleth unto deep, the deep things of the Psalter to the deep things of the human spirit.

Particular characteristics of the Personal Religion of the Psalter can here be described only very summarily.

JHWH is a personal God, great, and supremely great. Other gods there may be, gods of the other nations, or perhaps—as Kautzsch, for instance, has suggested—under-gods; but JHWH is supreme and unique. He is creator and preserver of all, mighty in nature, mighty also among the nations, doing marvellous works in judgment. And He is gracious,—at least to Israel,—the hearer of prayer, compassionate, rich in loving-kindness. He is the light and the strength of His people, their rock, their fortress, their refuge, their deliverer.

But JHWH is righteous and hates iniquity: while He blesses the righteous, He will sooner or later judge the wicked and the ungodly. The other nations are for the most part regarded as His enemies, whom He will destroy or subdue.

The Psalter, calling men to prayer and praise and meditation, makes much of worship, not only as a duty which men owe to JHWH, but as a source of delight and blessing. This worship is for the most part associated with the sanctuary, though the association does not appear to be regarded as necessary (4<sup>5</sup>, 22<sup>3</sup>), and there are frequent expressions of warm affection and profound reverence for God's holy house. Sacrifice is hardly mentioned.

The Psalter ranges the whole gamut of religious emotion: reverence, gratitude, humility, fear, joy and hope. The prevailing sentiment is confidence in JHWH. Prayer sometimes takes the form of complaint and sorrowful petition, but persistence in prayer is itself an evidence of faith, both of conscious dependence and of confidence. Life has its perplexities and dissonances, and Sheol, the shadowy land of forgetfulness and death-in-life, is ever before men; but JHWH is the strength and the dwelling-place of His people, and the best of life is to be gained in serving Him. For the wicked there remain Sheol and forgetfulness. There are phrases and statements (notably in Pss. 16, 17, 49, 73) which express yearning and lofty aspiration for, or even hopes and visions of, eternal blessedness, though no one could maintain that the Psalter contains a defined or consistent doctrine of immortality.

### THE TEMPLE IN THE PSALTER.

BY PROFESSOR WILLIAM FULTON, B.Sc., D.D.

1. So large is the place occupied by the Temple in the Psalter, and so obviously are the psalms designed in many instances for use in the Temple worship, that the Psalter may be entitled the Praise Book of the Temple; or more precisely—in view of prevalent critical conclusions—the Praise Book of the Second Temple.

2. Yet the Psalter cannot be so entitled without qualifications. Many of the psalms are prayers rather than hymns of praise. Again, the psalms—generally speaking—formed a collection of anthems, rather than hymns in our modern sense and usage; and yet again, they must often have originated in private devotions, being adapted for common worship by means of liturgical additions and interpolations, doubtless also by the excision or modification of individual references. (In virtue of the characteristic Hebrew sense of corporate personality there would be little or no difficulty in taking over such



psalms without recourse to the change from the singular to the plural number.)

3. Inasmuch as the Psalter was probably used in the early Synagogue, it might be more accurately described as the Praise Book, or Praise and Prayer Book of the Jewish Church or Community.

4. It is the distinction of the Hebrews, as compared with other Semitic peoples, that from the beginning they cultivated God by the way of moral approach as well as in sacrifice and ritual, thus combining the prophetic and priestly ideals of religion. The Book of Psalms shows the presence of both ideals, and, in so far as it may be regarded as the Hymn Book of the Second Temple, bears witness like the Deuteronomic Code to a practical compromise between the two. For the moral and spiritual passion throbbing through the religion of the Psalter is focussed in the Temple worship and gathers round the Temple sacrifices.

5. There are certain utterances in the Psalter that at least suggest an utter repudiation, in the spirit of an Amos or a Micah, of all sacrificial and formal worship. But they are exceptional utterances at the most, and they may even be brought into line with the rest of the Psalter. It may be said that the psalmists, like the prophets, attacked not so much the idea or principle of sacrifice as sacrifice apart from moral righteousness in the worshipper. "The sacrifices of God" were *those made by* "a broken spirit," "a contrite heart" (Ps. 51<sup>19</sup>). "The sacrifice of thanksgiving" (Ps. 50<sup>14</sup>) was probably a votive or voluntary as distinguished from a prescribed ritual offering. The Psalter, as it may not unjustly be said, attests the essential spirituality of the Hebrew sacrificial worship centred in the Second Temple.

6. We do not tend towards the error of materialising the conceptions of the psalmists and crediting them with a reactionary attitude towards prophetic and spiritual ideals. But we tend towards the opposite error of over-spiritualising their conceptions, or rather of exaggerating the spirituality of their conceptions, and so fail to realise their essential loyalty to the priestly view of religion, or, more specifically, to give its full value to their theory of the Temple and its worship. In the general thought of the psalmists it was only by bodily or mental presence in the one Temple at Jerusalem that the end of worship, which is mystical union with God, could be attained (Pss. 42-3, 63, 65, 84).

7. None the less some of the psalmists learned to spiritualise the Temple into the forecourt of the unseen world. With Jeremiah they caught a vision of the day which was already nigh when Jesus said, "God is a Spirit," and in so saying transcended all localised religion.

## NATURE IN THE PSALTER.

BY THE REV. C. J. RITCHIE, M.A.

The place which Nature holds in the psalms, though not unimportant, is subsidiary: it is not there for its own sake, or conceived as an independent system under control of natural law. It is dependent upon God, the expression of His Thought, or the vehicle of His Will. There is no description of scenery in the modern sense, yet incidental references to natural objects or operations betoken the "harvest of a quiet eye" (65<sup>9</sup>). A feature to be noted is the association of natural life with joy (65<sup>14</sup>, 98<sup>8</sup>, 114<sup>4</sup>). Natural operations are referred to Divine Agency. The phenomena of snow, frost, hail attract special notice (147<sup>14, 17</sup>), while dew and rain are frequently introduced, either in a natural or figurative sense. The dew of Hermon is a symbol of unity and brotherhood (138<sup>3</sup>); similarly grass and the flower of the field are emblems of human frailty (103<sup>15</sup>); while the good man is likened to a tree planted by a riverside (1<sup>3</sup>). The animal world has a place in the Psalter, and one of the finest expressions of spiritual desire is borrowed from it (42<sup>2</sup>). The ubiquitous sparrow builds her nest in the Temple courts (84<sup>4</sup>); the young lions roar after their prey (104<sup>31</sup>); and the whole animal creation is summoned to join in the chorus of praise with which the Psalter closes. Ps. 104 is a magnificent Hymn of Creation and Providence, and it is interesting to compare the Hymn of Akhnaten, to which it bears a striking resemblance.

The contemplation of Nature filled the mind of the psalmist with admiration and delight (104<sup>44</sup>); and he saw in it a revelation of God, an impressive manifestation of Divine power and glory. Yet while the psalms bear witness to the truth of natural religion, there is no worship of Nature, and the attitude throughout is profoundly theistic.

1. The religious standpoint of the Psalter involves the Cosmological Argument. The world is an effect whose Cause is God; and from the nature of the effect we can infer the character of the Cause. This is explicitly stated in 94<sup>9</sup>, and it underlies the whole attitude to the visible universe.

2. While modern thought tends to dwell on the Divine Immanence, in the Psalter, as in the Old Testament generally, emphasis is laid on Transcendence (cf. Deut. 32<sup>3</sup>). God's mighty works are exhibited in History, but Nature also is an impressive witness. Its visible grandeur is the garment which veils, but at the same time reveals, the "glory that excelleth" (cf. 104<sup>3</sup>).

3. An important aspect of Transcendence is the Divine Sovereignty, of which we find a typical expression in 29<sup>10</sup>. The sovereignty is absolute (135<sup>6</sup>); yet it is not exercised without regard to what is just,

and it works for the triumph of good. "The Lord's throne is in heaven" is the ultimate fact on which religious faith is based; and so the psalmist, even in face of life's difficulties and perplexities, can confidently say: "The Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoice."

4. Nature bears witness to Divine Providence. God visits man, and is mindful of him (8<sup>5</sup>), but the scope of Providence is not confined to the human sphere; it extends to all creatures. Earth is given to the sons of men, but it is also a home for the various species of the animal creation. "The hills are a refuge for the wild goats, and the rocks for the conies," and "the springs which run among the hills give drink to every beast of the field." This care for the "lower" creatures is part of JHWH's tender mercies, "which are over all His works"; and the scope of His Providence is finely expressed in 147: "He healeth the broken in heart. . . . He telleth the number of the stars. . . . He giveth to the beast his food, to the young ravens which cry."

5. Moral attributes, as well as physical, are sometimes expressed in terms of Nature. "His righteousness is like the great mountains, His judgments are a great deep" (36<sup>7</sup>); in 97<sup>6</sup> the heavens are said to declare His righteousness.

6. The whole natural world is included in the sphere of Divine activity, so that there is no place from which JHWH's presence is excluded (139<sup>8</sup>). Nature is part of His Kingdom. It is pervaded throughout by intelligence, and under the control of an all-directing Will. Thus the idea of the Unity of Nature, which is sometimes regarded as a discovery of modern science, was maintained by Hebrew psalmists and prophets on the basis of a monotheistic faith.

## THE COVENANTS IN THE PSALTER.

By REV. DUNCAN CAMERON, B.D.

In the religious consciousness of the writers of the Psalms the idea of Israel's special relation to JHWH was central. God was thought of in relation to the covenants with His people.

The word **בְּרִית** occurs only 15 times in the Psalter, describing Israel's relation to JHWH. But there is another word **חֶסֶד** which occurs frequently. A study of this word as used in the Hebrew Bible leads to the following conclusions: (1) It is used commonly in relation to a covenant, the covenant of JHWH with the patriarchs, or with Israel at Sinai, or with David, or the covenants between man and man; (2) there are passages in which it cannot mean "mercy" or "goodness," because of certain qualifying phrases or because of the

context; (3) it is used in close association with the preposition **עם**, not **ל**, and with words meaning truth, fidelity, righteousness. **חֶסֶד** is therefore taken to signify God's loyalty to His word, to His covenant promises.

Ps. 89 gives a good example of the place of the covenants in the religion of the Psalter. It is a psalm in praise of the covenant loyalty of God, in praise of His faithfulness: the covenant specially in view is the covenant with David (89<sup>a</sup>, cf. 2 Sam. 7<sup>12-16</sup>): the people are passing through a terrible experience, but the promise of JHWH keeps hope alive. **לֹא-אֲחַלֵּל בְּרִיתִי** (89<sup>30</sup>), **בְּרִיתִי נֶאֱמָנָה לִּי** (89<sup>38</sup>). The Psalter abounds in expressions of the covenant relationship between JHWH and Israel. Thus Israel is the people of JHWH, and their land is His land (85<sup>3</sup>). Various phrases are used to indicate this special relation, e.g. in Ps. 106: **נִחַלְתָּךְ**, **נִחַלְתָּךְ**, **נִחַלְתָּךְ**. The religious life depicted in the Psalter is rooted in belief in God's faithfulness, as the religious life of the Christian is rooted in belief in God's love. It is not the mercy or the goodness or the lovingkindness of God, but His faithfulness, that is specially in the psalmist's mind. The fidelity of JHWH to His word is a common subject of praise in the Psalter. The history of the nation was a storehouse of evidences of His covenant loyalty. Looking out to the future, the psalmists were filled oftentimes with foreboding, but looking back on the past, they were filled always with hope. When events in the past history of Israel are quoted, it is usually to illustrate God's fidelity. Ps. 105 is a striking example.

The sense of sin is a feature of the religion of the Psalter. The sins spoken of have generally a meaning in relation to the covenants. Israel is in the covenant relation, a relation conferring privileges and blessings, but also implying duties. Sin, as it is represented in the Psalter, may be defined as the breaking of promise, the breaking of the covenant vow: that is one reason why lack of faithfulness, lying, deceit, figure so prominently as sins. In most cases the psalmist seems to have in view the sins of the nation rather than the sins of the individual. Ps. 51 is usually cited as a clear example of the expression of a sense of personal sin. But the psalmist bases his plea for mercy on the **חֶסֶד** of JHWH, His loyalty to His covenants with Israel. The traditional association with David fails to explain **לִּי לְבָרָךְ** and **וְהִרְעֵנוּ** (v. 6). And the closing words of the psalm, with their prayer for Zion and Jerusalem, support the idea that the confession of sin and the prayer for pardon are from the nation and not from the individual.

Fidelity to the covenant is followed by many blessings, but the evil-doer is punished. A good deal can be said for the view that in

the Psalter the wicked are generally those outside the covenant relationship, generally non-Israelites. The problem of the success of the wicked is referred to several times, but it would arise in the comparison of the strength and prosperity of non-Israelites with the weakness and afflictions of Israel. (Even Ps. 73 can be explained on this hypothesis, and the opening words favour it.) The people and the land of Israel are generally regarded as the recipients of the covenant blessings, but occasionally (Pss. 67, 96, 102<sup>23</sup>, 117) there is a wider view, in line with the promise of the covenant with Abraham (Gen. 12<sup>3</sup>). In some cases, perhaps, the psalmist has in view the glory of Zion rather than the blessedness of non-Israelites. On the whole, the note of universality is not prominent.

There are one or two phrases frequently used in the Psalter which have a special meaning in view of the covenant relationship. Take, for example, the frequent mention of God's right hand. There is a connection between a vow, a promise and the right hand. When Jacob, for instance, blessed Ephraim, it was with the right hand (Gen. 48<sup>14</sup>), in token that the promise of the covenant was to be on that tribe. Again, there is certainly a connection between the covenants and a phrase like "thy name's sake." JHWH has made a covenant with His people, and His name (His character) is concerned in the keeping of that covenant. Hence the prayer, *יְשׁוּבָהּ לְשֵׁם אֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב* (20<sup>3</sup>). JHWH is asked for guidance, for help, for pardon, for the sake of His name. It is worth noting that Ps. 44<sup>27</sup>, which in the Hebrew Bible reads *פָּדֵנוּ לְמַעַן חַסְדְּךָ*, is in the Septuagint *λύτρωσαι ἡμᾶς ὕπαιφ' τοῦ ὀνόματός σου*, and in the Vulgate "Redime nos propter nomen tuum." The words are different, but the meaning is the same. Another word, *מְשִׁיחַ*, is also important. It is used of the people as in the covenant relation to JHWH (105<sup>15</sup>, 84<sup>10</sup> and very clearly in 89<sup>39</sup>). Israel was the anointed of JHWH because the nation had been dedicated to Him. There is an intimate connection between anointing and dedicating.

## THE PERSONAL PIETY OF THE PSALTER.

BY THE REV. C. J. RITCHIE, M.A.

The special task set before the Group was to determine the characteristics of the Personal Religion of the Psalter, and ascertain whether there is evidence of different types of religious experience. On some points, *e.g.* the relative proportion between the national and personal elements in the Psalter, there was divergence of opinion. In this paper only a general survey of the subject was given.

I. Some psalms are unmistakably national or historical: they describe great events in the past, or give utterance to the nation's thanksgiving and penitence. In them the psalmist does not merely express his own private thoughts or feelings, but speaks for the community. In others the subject-matter is mainly personal, and the writer pours forth his soul to God in earnest prayer or passionate expostulation. Yet it is not always easy to distinguish the two elements, and at times they appear to exist side by side, or the one shades off into the other.

II. The experience described, while necessarily limited, exhibits considerable variety. The changing moods of the soul are represented, and expression is freely given to religious sentiment and emotion. Reverence and trust, humility and thankfulness, hope and fear, joy and despondency, love of God, and hatred of enemies, all find a place; and faith is the support and strength of the soul amid manifold trials and difficulties. Striking emotional contrasts are presented, not infrequently in the same psalm (42-43, 55, 56, 73); or it may be in successive psalms (22, 23; 44, 45; 83, 84). Patriotism and religion seem to go hand in hand. The contrasts of experience resemble the distinction drawn by Prof. W. James between the healthy and the sick soul. Of the former Ps. 23 may stand as type: while the penitential psalms afford examples of the other.

III. A numerous class have for their main theme experience of trouble and deliverance. Suffering is described in realistic terms, but sometimes we are left in doubt whether these are to be understood in a literal or a figurative sense. Whatever be the form of trouble, the unfailing refuge of the sufferer is in prayer. The Psalter is a Book of Prayer almost as much as of Praise; and it still furnishes the Churches of Christendom with the language of confession and supplication, or of thanksgiving and intercession. The trials and sufferings of the nation form the theme of Pss. 74 and 77. In Pss. 37 and 73 the psalmist grapples with the problem of evil and the difficulty of reconciling the character of God with the state of the world and the facts of experience.

IV. A point of interest is the relation of Piety to Old Testament ordinances—to the Law, the ritual of worship, sacrifices, etc.

1. The idea of divine Law pervades the Psalter; it forms the subject of 19<sup>st</sup> and 119, and is a theme of wonder and admiration. But it is the moral rather than the ceremonial Law which the writer has in view, and the standpoint is that of Deuteronomy rather than Leviticus. The Decalogue is presupposed in 50<sup>14-23</sup>; and the law against usury may underlie 15<sup>5</sup>. Incidental references, however, do not enable us to define precisely the relation of the Law in the Psalter to the legislation of the Pentateuch.

2. The Psalter was compiled for use in the Temple. It was the

Book of Praise of the Jewish Church, and bears witness to the place which the Sanctuary and its worship held in the estimation of the pious Israelite (26<sup>s</sup>, 42<sup>s</sup>). Ps. 84 is a Song of the House of God, and the feelings and associations of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem found expression in the Songs of Ascents. The whole of worship is in the Psalter; prayer and praise, penitence and faith, adoration and supplication, personal experience of mercy and forgiveness, and national thanksgiving for victory or deliverance.

3. Sacrifice and offering formed part of the ritual of worship in Old Testament times, and frequent reference is made to them in the Psalter. In Ps. 40<sup>7</sup> sacrifices appear to be disparaged in the interest of spiritual religion, after the manner of the prophets. Ps. 50 (one of the Asaph Psalms) is a typical example of this attitude. Compare also **זָבַח יְהוָה אֶדְדֵּךְ** (4<sup>s</sup>) and **זָבַח יְרֵמוּעָה** (27<sup>s</sup>). While Ps. 51<sup>19</sup> is quite in the spirit of prophetic teaching, 51<sup>21</sup> is thoroughly sacerdotal. Passages such as this suggest a process of revision designed to combine divergent tendencies or minimise their difference.

V. Analysis of the Psalter suggests that it is not homogeneous, and traces may be detected of different strata of religious experience. At one time religion seems focussed in the Temple, at another it appears to be independent of altar or sacrifice. There are psalms in which the standpoint is predominantly ethical, after the manner of Old Testament wisdom (*e.g.* 1, 15). In others the whole ritual side of religion appears to be transcended, and the soul experiences the joy and blessedness of mystic communion (73<sup>23</sup>). There are times when God appears to hide His face; but there are also moments when the soul attains undisturbed serenity in the consciousness of the Divine Presence. This consciousness of God is the inmost secret of the Psalter—the conviction that at the centre of things there is One who is cognisant of our inmost thoughts and purposes, who watches over our goings, and guides us as by an unseen Hand.

## THE CALIPHATE.

By THE REV. T. H. WEIR, D.D.

The institution of the Caliphate really existed before the time of Muhammad. The Prophet's ancestor Kusayy, who first organised the tribe of Koraish and founded the town of Mecca, was really the first Caliph, if one may say so. He was mayor of Mecca and held all the functions of the pilgrimage in his hands. After his death these became divided between the rival clans of Hashim and Omayyah, a rivalry which lasted for many a long day. The part of

Muhammad was to extend the chieftainship of the tribe to that of the nation. At his death in 632 he left the Arabs one people for the first time in their history.

The union, however, was largely nominal. He left no instructions as to his successor, and rivalry at once broke out between the people of the political capital, Medina, and the Meccans who had followed Muhammad thither. The latter, too, were divided among themselves, the family of Muhammad standing aloof. The election of the first Khalifah (Caliph), i.e., "successor," was therefore far from unanimous. Nearly the whole of Arabia revolted, and Abu Bekr's two years of office were spent in bringing them back to their allegiance. His successor Omar was called the successor of the successor of the Prophet, but, saying that "this thing was getting too long," he took the title of "Prince of the Faithful," and so did all his successors. Omar found a nation and left an empire. He ruled over Arabia, Syria, Persia and Egypt. Omar had been nominated by Abu Bekr, but he failed to nominate anyone. In the election of his successor, Othman, the Omayyad house had its representative, as in Othman's successor, Ali, the family of Muhammad. The latter, however, were never uncontested Caliphs, and the house of Omayyah quickly established its sway over the whole Muslim Empire, from Afghanistan to the Atlantic, and held it for a hundred years. They were succeeded by the Abbásids, with whom the Hashimites once more take the lead. The Omayyad capital was Damascus, whilst that of the Abbásids was Bagdad, and so these two dynasties represent the ancient rivalry of Syria and Persia. The Abbásid period is the period of decay. In Spain the dethroned Omayyads set up an independent dynasty, and others sprang up elsewhere, though most of them acknowledged the spiritual supremacy of the Caliph of Bagdad. There were, however, rival Caliphs just as there were rival Popes. At one period there were no less than three, the Omayyad in Spain, the Fatimid in Egypt and the Abbásid at Bagdad. With the taking of Bagdad in 1258 the temporal power of the last vanished for ever. They carried on as a sort of domestic chaplains to the Mamelukes in Egypt for two and a half centuries.

Up to this point every Caliph had been of the tribe of Koraish, if not of the family of Muhammad, or claimed to be. But when in 1517 the Turks conquered Syria and Egypt and the Sacred Cities of Arabia, they took over the Caliphate also. With them the office passed out of the tribe of Muhammad. The Sultan of Turkey was never acknowledged as supreme in Persia, nor generally in Morocco, nor till lately in India, and then only for political purposes. It will be interesting to watch who succeeds him.



# Koraiḥ.

## Kossiy.

### Abdeddar.

OMAR. ABU BEKR.

Haṣa. Aisha.

Abd Shams.

Omayya.

OTTOMAN and Omayyad Caliphs,  
656-750; in Spain, 929-1031.

Abbas and Abbasid Caliphs,  
750-1258; in Egypt till 1617.

Abu Talib.

Abdallah.

MUHAMMAD †632.

1. ALI-FATIMA.  
Zainab.

2. HASAN.

Hasan.

Abdallah.

HASANI SHERIFS, 1544-1658;  
SHERIFS of Mecca.

IDRIS, dynasty in Morocco,  
788-922; SHERIFS of  
Wezzan.

3. HUSAIN.

4. ALI.

5. MUHAMMAD.

6. JAAFAR.

7. Ismail.

7. MUṢA.

Fatimid Caliphs in  
Egypt, 909-1171;  
Bagdad in 1068.

Sharif Rida  
†1015.

8. ALI.

9. MUHAMMAD.

10. ALI.

11. HASAN.

12. MUHAMMAD.  
12th Imam; vanished  
about 873.

Ibn Tumart †1228.

11th October, 1915.

This meeting was attended by 19 members. The Society learned with regret of the death of the Rev. David Forsyth, B.A., B.D., on active service in the Great War now raging. Satisfaction was expressed at the appointment of the Rev. W. M. Christie to superintend the disbursement of the monies raised for Jews in Russia rendered destitute through the war.

Two papers were read: of the first a brief synopsis is given below: the second, entitled "Notes on Hebrew Music," was contributed by the Rev. Jas. Millar, B.D.

### THE MISHNAH TREATISE SHABBATH AS A REFLECTION OF JEWISH SOCIAL LIFE.

BY PROFESSOR A. R. S. KENNEDY, D.D.

This paper was afterwards published in full in *Studia Semitica et Orientalia*.

The Mishnah treatise "Shabbath" contains the elaborate prescriptions sanctioned by the Jewish authorities for the due observance of the Sabbath. From the multifarious array of things forbidden on the seventh day, we learn what was lawfully done on the other days of the week. The treatise thus becomes a mirror of the everyday life of the Jew in the first two centuries of our era.

The material may be arranged under three heads: (1) Home life; (2) Occupations, Arts and Crafts; (3) Miscellaneous data.

(1) Under the first head valuable information is supplied as to food and its preparation, house furniture, dress, ornaments and jewelry.

(2) Under the second interesting sidelights are afforded by the "forty save one" (cf. 2 Cor. 11<sup>24</sup>) chief categories—literally "fathers"—of work on the whole round of everyday activities; on the various arts and crafts, including the art of healing; on farming and farm stock; on soldiers and taxgatherers.

(3) Under the third head may be grouped a variety of topics not included in the other two, such as magical cures, children's toys, false teeth, the protection of cows' udders from snakes, etc.

24th April, 1916.

This meeting was attended by 18 members and 1 visitor, the Rev. A. R. Mackenzie, B.D. The Society put on record its deep regret at the death of the Rev. George Anderson, D.D., a member of the Society since the third session of its existence, Recording Secretary since 1897, and editor of three successive volumes of the Society's *Transactions*. Three papers, of which abstracts follow, were read.

## "THE DAY OF JAHVE" IN THE OLD TESTAMENT PROPHETS.

BY THE REV. ANDREW BAIRD, B.D.

In dealing with the subject "The Day of Jahve," the credentials of the prophets are first considered. They are the mediums through whom Jahve, the God of Israel, spoke, as Amos says, "Surely the Lord God will do nothing but He revealeth His secret unto His servants, the prophets."

The prophets had to do with the word of Jahve who spoke to Israel through them; and their Names are suggestive—"Man of God, Servants of Jahve, Ministers or Messengers from Jahve, Interpreter, Seer and Prophet, Sentinel, Watchman, giving forth His message. Jahve stands to Israel in a threefold relation—a covenant relation having for its goal a Kingdom of God upon the earth, whose form was a Theocracy. Towards this state the prophets had a threefold relation: as Individuals they called the people to Righteousness; as Ecclesiastics they called the people to Worship; as Representatives in a State of which God was King, they were statesmen in the highest sense. God was the Head of all alike, of Individual, Church and State. The prophet spoke in Jahve's Name—for the great end, the realisation of Jahve's Kingdom on earth. All leads up to the great Day when God shall come in His fulness for the deliverance of Zion. The "Day of the Lord" was the great message of the prophets, and the great end "the Kingdom of God on earth."

Belief in the "Day of Jahve" was a common faith, great movements among the Nations suggesting its nearness, spite of dark protracted periods. The "Day of Jahve" was the day of His intervention to bring to manifestation His purposes. To the prophets "the Day of Jahve" was a Moral Necessity, the great event to which all things move. The term "Day" in contradistinction to "Night" is suggestive. The "Day of Jahve" prevails over Darkness. With an

eschatology of Bliss and Woe, the spiritual is supreme above the earthly. There was a popular and unethical conception of "the Day of Jahve" as a judgment on Israel's national enemies, but the rise of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Micah purified the conception.

According to the prophets of the 8th century B.C. this day was to be one of judgment chiefly against Israel. To Amos, Jahve is absolute Righteousness, and the Day appears only in its darker side against Israel. To Hosea, Jahve is unchanging Love; yet he foretells judgment. To Isaiah, Jahve is the Transcendent Sovereign, and he sets forth the Day as Punishment and Blessing: Judgment being accomplished, the Nation will be restored on a righteous foundation. Like Isaiah, Micah the Moresheth is one in the indictment of Evil; but declares an Evangel and a vision of possibilities. With Nahum, Habakkuk and Zephaniah, religious thoughts on "the Day of Jahve" have, in part, advanced, in part retrograded. The Day is an intervention on behalf of righteous Israel against wicked Assyria. In Nahum and Habakkuk, judgment will strike the godless Gentiles. Zephaniah reaches forth to a world outlook, with his philosophy of history, his doctrine of Divine Providence, his sense of injustice and the disciplinary value of suffering. Jahve, God of the Whole Earth, God of Righteousness, must summon all the nations to judgment, assembled for destruction,—a view appearing first in Zephaniah,—a small righteous remnant in Israel being left. On the other hand, some contend that Zephaniah forecasts a wide Universalism, if chaps. 2<sup>11</sup> and 3<sup>9, 10</sup> are original. Jeremiah and Ezekiel represent further development. With the exile, according to Dr. Charles, the burden of prophecy is no longer doom and destruction, but promise and blessing. Judgment takes on Ethical and Spiritual features, its object being to prepare the way for the External Messianic Kingdom in which the Nations shall share. Ezekiel and his school emphasise this Messianic Kingdom. In Deutero-Isaiah, Universalism, deduced from the Unity of God, is taught. Jahve is the Redeemer of Israel and Saviour of all mankind. To Haggai, "the Day of Jahve" will be the destruction of the heathen powers, peace for Jerusalem and the building of the Temple. Zechariah regards it much in the same way. To Obadiah, the "Day of Jahve" is near upon all Nations. Joel portrays its signs, and the Outpouring of the Spirit of God, and portents in Nature. For Israel it will bring justification; for the nations generally, Judgment. Malachi trenches on the period when prophecy had become more apocalyptic, and he sounds the Universalistic Note.

Regarding the interpretation of the prophecy of the future, three things are canons of importance, according to Dr. Orr. 1st. In the prediction of distant events to which existing conditions no longer apply, there is no alternative but to present them in the forms of

the present. 2nd. Not the way by which the Goal of the Kingdom of God is to be reached but the Goal itself is set forth. 3rd. There is a Conditional Element in Prophecy, as is seen in Jeremiah. Human repentance may avert predicted judgment, human intercession delay or modify it; human fidelity may hasten, and, on the other hand, human unfaithfulness may retard, accomplishment of purpose. The same applies to the New Testament hope of the Lord's Coming. There is a human conditioning even here. When the Church prays "Thy Kingdom come," it implicitly acknowledges that it has a certain responsibility for the hastening or retarding of that Coming. Had the Church been more faithful, would not the Consummation have been nearer, would not the outlook be very different from that which confronts us ?

## JOHN OF DAMASCUS AND THE CONTROVERSY WITH ISLAM.

BY THE REV. RICHARD BELL, B.D.

Among the writings of John of Damascus is a *Dialogue with a Saracen*, as well as an account of Islam in the first part of his chief dogmatic work, where he deals with heresies. Both of these are controversial, and as John wrote in the first half of the eighth century under the Ommayad Caliphs, we might expect them to throw some light on the beginnings of Moslem theology.

I. *His Account of Islam*.—The fact that John treats Islam as a Christian heresy is significant. He regards it simply from an intellectual dogmatic point of view, and recognises a near kinship between it and Christianity, but fails to appreciate the power and originality of Muhammad as a prophet. Muhammad's claim to be a prophet is judged by its lack of miraculous sanction, and of any prediction of his appearance. (John gives no indication of Sur. 61, v. 6, being used to support Muhammad's claim.) The pressure of this Christian argument may have strengthened the tendency to ascribe miracles to Muhammad. Moslems accuse Christians of being polytheists; Christians retort that Moslems mutilate God, making Him *ἄλογος*, without reason. John displays considerable knowledge of the Qur'an, pointing out many absurdities in it.

II. *The Dialogue with a Saracen*.—It is designed to supply answers to Moslem attacks. Two main groups of questions are dealt with.

(a) *Divinity of Christ*. In controversy with Moslems, Christ should be represented as the Logos, or Word of God. The Moslem will then be compelled either to admit that he is co-eternal with God, or that God is without Logos or Spirit. The latter opinion was heretical amongst the Moslems themselves. Discussion arose early in Islam

on the nature of God. Was the doctrine of the Qadarites really that of a Supreme Power or an unintelligent Fate? Such arguments had an influence upon the development of Islam; opposition to the Christian position encouraged the tendency to fatalism. The question is then raised, "Are the words of God eternal?" The doctrine of the Eternal Word is replaced in Islam by the doctrine of the Eternal Qur'an. The Saracen is credited with considerable knowledge of the Old Testament, and readiness to accept the authority of Christian Scriptures as well as of the Qur'an.

Other difficulties connected with the Divinity of Christ are also dealt with.

(b) *Origin of Evil*. In regard to this, the Saracen has more of the character of an ingenuous enquirer. Questions are raised: What is the cause of good and evil? Does God co-operate with evil-doers, seeing their evil deeds produce effects which may be good? Did not the Jews in putting Christ to death perform God's will?

The Dialogue is of some interest for the development of Moslem thought. It shows a good deal of common ground between Christianity and Islam. The Old and New Testaments (especially the Old) are accepted on both sides; but the authority of Scripture is extended by Moslems to the Qur'an. Christian theology sets questions which Moslem theology has to answer, and thus gives its bent to Moslem thought.

## CHINESE SCRIPT AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR STUDENTS OF CHINESE HISTORY.

BY THE REV. ALEX. R. MACKENZIE, B.D.

To this day there are employed in Chinese writing a considerable number of ancient picture-words, which point back to a time when the arts of writing and painting were not clearly differentiated. Both of these arts owe their origin to the necessity of keeping records of facts or events of importance to men. The more important of the Chinese pictographs referred to may be classified in groups as follows:— (1) Nature; (2) Man; (3) Human Anatomy; (4) Natural History; (a) Birds, (b) Beasts; (5) Agriculture and Forestry; and (6) Industry. They reveal considerable powers of artistic expression and of caricature. They also foreshadow descriptive science and poetry.

In *China's Place in Philology; an Attempt to show that the Languages of Europe and Asia have a Common Origin* (London, 1871), the Rev. J. Edkins, D.D., endeavoured to prove the truth of the Babel story, by making Chinese occupy a key-place in his piecing together of the various languages and language-groups of the two continents.



(4) (b) 𦍋 𦍌 𦍍 𦍎 𦍇 𦍈 𦍉 𦍊  
68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75

𦍋 𦍌 𦍍 𦍎 𦍇 𦍈 𦍉 𦍊  
76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84

𦍋 𦍌 𦍍 𦍎 𦍇 𦍈 𦍉 𦍊  
85 86 87 88 89 90

(5) 𦍋 𦍌 𦍍 𦍎 𦍇 𦍈 𦍉 𦍊  
91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98

𦍋 𦍌 𦍍 𦍎 𦍇 𦍈 𦍉 𦍊  
99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107

𦍋 𦍌 𦍍  
108 109 110

(6) 𦍋 𦍌 𦍍 𦍎 𦍇 𦍈 𦍉 𦍊  
111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118

𦍋 𦍌 𦍍 𦍎 𦍇 𦍈 𦍉 𦍊  
119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127

𦍋 𦍌 𦍍 𦍎 𦍇 𦍈 𦍉 𦍊  
128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136

𦍋 𦍌 𦍍 𦍎 𦍇 𦍈 𦍉 𦍊  
137 138 139 140 141 142



More recently Professor C. J. Ball, in a monograph entitled *Chinese and Sumerian*, has sought to establish a definite relation between the Chinese and Sumerian languages. He compares both the scripts and the sounds of the two languages. But even Professor Ball's more restricted thesis would be difficult to prove. There is, for one thing, too great a chronological disparity between the date of the pre-Babylonian Sumerian pictographs and the earliest extant specimens of Chinese writing, second millennium B.C.

Further, the basal characters in Chinese reveal a comparatively settled mode of life, with developed agriculture, with industries and industrial implements, with houses and household utensils, with carts and boats for travel on land and water, with domestic animals,—not, in fact, the circumstances of a nomad race, but those of a people living in conditions which resemble, even to the details, conditions that prevail in China now. For these reasons many would prefer to assign the origin of Chinese writing and of Chinese literature to Chinese soil, i.e., the region about the Yellow River, to which the Chinese themselves point as the birthplace of their race.

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#### DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF CHINESE CHARACTERS.

(1) 1, The Sun, with angular sunspot. 2, The (crescent) Moon. 3, Cloud, tenuous below, large above. 4, Rain, drops falling from sky. 5, Vapour. 6, Fire, sparks at sides. 7, Mountain. 8, Overhanging Cliff. 9, Bank of Earth. 10, Mound. 11, Plant. 12, Water, ripples. 13, Fountain, with rill flowing from it. 14, Stream. 15, Well, in midst of eight lots. 16, Ice, crystals. 17, Earth, surface and substratum from which plant springs. 18, Field, with dividing ridges. 19, Cultivation, ploughed furrows. 20, City, with gates at sides.

(2) 21, Prince. 22, Statesmen, prostrate before ruler. 23, Man. 24, Babe, head above, arms raised, legs wrapped. 25, Protect, hands at side of child. 26, Woman. 27, Impersonator of dead, sitting (see De Groot). 28, Ghost. 29, Mother, from No. 26, with breasts indicated. 30, Son, head with fontanel not closed. 31, Big, man with arms stretched out. 32, Heaven, the highest, above man. 33, King. 34, Prisoner, a man in an enclosure.

(3) 35, Heart, with surrounding veins. 36, Head, cf. No. 39. 37, Cranium. 38, Eye. 39, Nose. 40, Mouth. 41, Speak, breath issuing from mouth. 42, Sweet, object in mouth. 43, Tooth, in jaw. 44, Chin. 45, Ear. 46, Moustache. 47, Beard. 48, Bent arm. 49, Hand, with five fingers above. 50, Right hand. 51, Left hand. 52, Backbone, two vertebral joints. 53, Ribs and Spine. 54, Foot, toes above, heel below. 55, Sinew.

(4) (a) 56, Long-tailed Bird. 57, Crow, as No. 56, but black eye indistinguishable. 58, Short-tailed Bird. 59, Phoenix (tail). 60, Flight of Swallow. 61, Swallow, from above. 62, Magpie. 63, Crow's flight. 64, Pheasant. 65, Plumes. 66, Fly bird, with wings extended. 67, Hover, wings not seen.

(b) 68, Quadruped. 69, Ox. 70, Sheep. 71, Dog, hind leg bent indicates speed. 72, Horse. 73, Pig. 74, Deer. 75, Elephant, with long trunk. 76, Low, of cattle, No. 69. 77, Bleat, of sheep, No. 70. 78, Rat. 79, Skin, cf. No. 70, sheepskin, scraped. 80, Lizard. 81, Cobra. 82, Fish. 83, Tortoise. 84, Serpent. 85, Worm. 86, Toad. 87, Horn. 88, Flesh, in strips. 89, Hair. 90, Paw.

(5) 91, Barley, ears above, leaves below. 92, Millet, with drooping ear. 93, Leeks. 94, Grass. 95, Melon, creeper outside, melon inside. 96, Bamboo, leaves drooping. 97, Tree. 98, Varnish, drops exuding from tree. 99, Root, part denoted by mark. 100, Branches, as 99. 101, Red, heart of tree, as 99. 102, Bright, sun above tree. 103, Dark, sun beneath tree. 104, East, sun behind tree. 105, Fruit, on tree. 106, Nest, birds on tree. 107, Singing of birds, mouths on tree-top. 108, Grove, two trees. 109, Thicket, three trees. 110, Sprout, growth above, roots beneath.

(6) 111, Carpenter's square. 112, Cap. 113, Boat, bottom to right, stern above. 114, Cart, horizontal section. 115, Dish, contents on top. 116, Kettle. 117, Spoon. 118, Wine-pot. 119, Wine in jar. 120, Bow. 121, Arrow. 122, Knife. 123, Tablets, strung together. 124, Jade-stones, three on one string. 125, Cinnabar, crucible with ore. 126, Cowry, anciently used as currency. 127, Sieve, on stand. 128, Basket. 129, Axe. 130, Net. 131, Food-vessel. 132, Pitcher. 133, Jar. 134, Bowl. 135, Shelter, no wall in front. 136, House. 137, Window. 138, Double door. 139, Single door. 140, Tile. 141, Shovel for winnowing. 142, Mortar, rice inside.

*9th October, 1916.*

At this meeting 24 members were present. Two papers were read: an abstract of the first, "The Personal Piety of the Psalter," by the Rev. C. J. Ritchie, M.A., is printed on pp. 29-31: a summary of the second is given below.

## JEWISH SUPERSTITION.

BY THE REV. W. M. CHRISTIE, D.D.

This paper was afterwards published in *The Link* (Vol. I. 6, February, 1919; Pickering and Inglis, Glasgow). In it the writer first speaks of various kinds of Jewish charms (phylacteries, *mezu-zoth*, five-branched candlesticks and models of hands in metal), then of superstitious beliefs regarding the *Shedim*, or evil spirits, and of the practice of washing the hands as a protection against them. "A special threefold washing is considered necessary after attending a funeral, for if this ceremonial be not performed, one carries home the Angel of Death on his hands. Such washings by crowds may be witnessed frequently at Gorbals Cross."

As an example of magical remedies: "Against the bite of a mad dog the procedure is: The sufferer must take the skin of a male adder, and write upon it these words, 'I, A.B., son of X.Y., write against thee on the skin of a male adder, Kanti, kanti, klirus, Yah, Yah, Adonai, Zebaoth, Amen, Selah.' He must then bury his clothes for twelve months, and then burn them. All the time he must drink water only through a tube."

From the *Sepher Shimmush Tehillim* were quoted the uses of Psalms 3, 6, 7, 9, 10, 29 and 58 as remedies for headache, diseases of the eye, enemies, a sick boy, evil spirits, an attack by a vicious dog. Psalm 16 is prescribed as a means of discovering a robber: "Take mud and sand from the river. Mix. Write names of suspected persons on slips of paper. Anoint the slips behind with the mixture. Lay the slips in a large clean basin filled with fresh water from the stream. Recite the Psalm ten times, and robber's name, if present, will rise to the surface." Psalm 19 will make one's son an apt student: "Fill a cup with wine and honey. Recite this Psalm over the cup. Pronounce the Holy Name, say an appropriate prayer. Give the boy the mixture to drink."

Other practices spoken of were change of name to escape death or bad fortune and prayers to saints. In the Jewish salutation *mazal tobh* "good luck" *mazal* is a constellation, so that the phrase is connected with astrological beliefs. The treatment of the last verses of Ecclesiastes, Isaiah, Lamentations, and Malachi, which are of evil omen, was explained, and the burying of worn-out copies of Scripture was noted as an example of superstitious reverence for "the Book."

30th April, 1917.

Eighteen members were present. The Corresponding Secretary, at the request of the Society, undertook to discharge the duties of the Recording Secretary during Mr. Muir's absence on chaplaincy duty with the Forces. It was learned with regret that another member of the Society, the Rev. John Pinkerton, B.A. (Cantab.), B.D., had died on military service. Two papers, of which abstracts are given, were read.

### THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE NEW: SOME ILLUSTRATIONS.

BY THE LATE REV. ROBERT GARDNER, B.D.

This paper dealt with the Old Testament basis of New Testament thought and language, too much overlooked by its students. The general thesis maintained is that the key which unlocks the meaning of the New Testament lies in the Old Testament; and failure to use this key is responsible for a great deal of the misinterpretation that prevails.

We take as illustrations the three great doctrinal ideas of Election, Redemption, and Eschatology. *Election* is the presupposition or root-idea of the whole Old Testament Theology; and *Redemption* and *Eschatology* flow naturally from it; for if the Children of Israel believed that the Lord their God (Deut. 7<sup>e</sup>—He was not the God of the Egyptians) had chosen them to be "a peculiar treasure unto Him above all people," then He was of necessity bound to deliver them from oppression, bondage, or any other misery or misfortune (redemption in its widest sense), and also to vindicate them at the last, either as a Conqueror in a final battle (Armageddon) or as a Judge issuing His decree from a Great White Throne, at "the Day of the Lord."

(a) *The Old Testament Root Idea of "Election."*—We meet with the term "Chosen" or "Elected" for the first time as a theological term in Deut. 7<sup>e</sup>: "The Lord thy God hath 'chosen' thee to be a peculiar treasure"; and it is used, be it noted, in what we may call a corporate sense, of the nation collectively, in its historic aspect, and not of individuals. In the primary passage of Exodus 19<sup>8, 9</sup>—"Ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto Me above all people . . . and ye shall be unto Me a Kingdom of Priests . . . and an holy nation"—we have the terms on which the Covenant is made, and Israel is constituted God's Church.

These are the special phrases used of Israel in its new relation to God, as "the Called": (1) God's peculiar treasure (קִנְיָן); (2) His "Chosen" or "Elected" one (בְּחִירָיו); (3) a Kingdom of priests; (4) an holy nation. And these titles are constantly appealed to by later writers, as embodying the fundamental ideas of Israel's relation to God among the nations of the world.

We find, on turning to the New Testament, that this group of terms, applied to Israel throughout the Old Testament from the Pentateuch to Malachi, is still in constant use by the Apostolic Writers. Now, however, the phrases are transferred to the Church of the New Dispensation, "the Israel of God." Like Israel, redeemed or purchased, the Christian Church had become God's "own possession" or "peculiar treasure": its members too were all "elect" or "chosen," all alike "holy" or "saints," all alike "kings and priests unto God." Thus St. Peter (1 Peter 2<sup>9</sup>); and St. Paul (Ephes. 1<sup>4</sup>); and St. John (Rev. 1<sup>6</sup>, 5<sup>9</sup>, 10).

Interpreters should mark the origin of this language in the Old Testament and its meaning there. A real light is thrown on the true position of the Christian Church, and the purpose for which it exists: we are "elected" to an historic function or mission, and not to an eternal destiny (Calvin's idea); the Divine intention in our calling is to establish the Kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ: it is to bring about this blessed consummation, that God has claimed us as "His own," that we are "chosen" and "consecrated" and made "kings and priests unto God."

(b) *The Figure or Metaphor of "Redemption" (פְּדוּתָא) or Redeemer (פֹּדֶם).*—The Christian conception of Redemption can be traced back to the Old Testament: it can be shown that it is ultimately based on the account of the Exodus of Israel from Egypt (or from the Babylonish Captivity), which is habitually described in the Jewish Scriptures as a great act of Redemption or Ransom. By it God rescued His people, emancipated them from slavery, and "purchased" them, so that they henceforth were bound to Him by a personal tie as no other nation was, and became in a special way His own property.

Similarly we are taught in the New Testament that our Lord and Saviour by His Incarnation and Atoning Death rescued His people, emancipated them from slavery to sin and Satan, and "purchased" the Church, so that it, like Israel of old, became in a special way His own. The idea present in the New Testament figure or metaphor of Ransom or Redemption is that of the Old Testament, only fulfilled. A mighty force has been exerted. The "redemption" costs much.

This is a much more excellent way of interpretation than that of the Fathers or the Schoolmen, who were led away (as is manifest

from the "puzzling," "scandalising" Patristic inferences) by reading into the biblical term modern ideas of "rights" of captor and "price of ransom paid," etc.

(c) *The Eschatological Idea of the Day of the Lord* (יְהוָה יוֹם), or the *Doctrine of the Last Things*.—An examination of the meaning and history of the phrase—"the Day of the Lord"—in 1 Thessalonians, the earliest book of the New Testament to be committed to writing, shows that St. Paul took it straight out of the Old Testament, where it is found many times in the prophetic books, and where the idea invariably underlying the phrase is of a time when there should be a signal and triumphant manifestation of Jehovah in vindication of His rights, involving deliverance of the righteous and destruction of sinners. The imagery in the Old Testament is drawn from the battlefield: the Day of Jehovah is the Day of His victory over His foes.

Turning to the New Testament, we find that the phrase is used of that "one far-off Divine Event, to which the whole creation moves"; but the same picture is still called up by the phrase, and the same mental scenery is suggested by it, as in the Old Testament. The Apostle Paul thinks of "the Day" as the Day of the Lord's victory over His foes. But it is a very significant fact that as we examine the various passages of the New Testament in which the "Day of the Lord" is referred to, we find that a new and different conception of it makes its appearance and gradually supersedes the old one. The associations of the battlefield and the sack of the conquered city are sometimes lost sight of—the imagery is changed. Instead of these, we read of the tribunal or "judgment-seat" of Christ, before which we must all appear. The dominant thought is now of Judgment, of the Court of Justice, and the Judge upon the Great White Throne. The old language is still used; but a real advance has been made in the whole conception of justice and judgment. The tribunal of the Judge is better fitted than the battlefield to set before us that triumph of Divine Righteousness, that rendering to every man according to his deeds, that victory over sin and condemnation of the wicked, which we look for at the Last Day.

### THREE ARABIC CHARMS FROM DAMASCUS.

By PROFESSOR W. B. STEVENSON, D.LITT., D.D.

The charms exhibited to the Society were contained in paper rolls, purchased in Damascus in 1897. Two of them were recensions of the widely circulated "Charm of Murjānē (Morgana)," which includes a prefatory narrative, along with the charm proper. The charm of the third roll closely resembled that of Murjānē, without the prefatory narrative. Special attention was directed to the use

of magic signs and magic squares. The principal magic signs used were five of the well-known group of the Seven Seals.

Translations of the three rolls, with an expanded discussion of their character and contents, were afterwards published in the *Studia Semitica et Orientalia* of the Society (Glasgow, 1920). In the same article, entitled "Some Specimens of Moslem Charms," a treatment of the whole subject of magic squares and of the origin of the Seven Seals was included.

8th October, 1917.

In the absence of the President in London, on Government Service, the Vice-President took the chair. 14 members were present, and 2 visitors, MM. Bourgeois and Bouton, refugees from Belgium, who were cordially welcomed. Three papers were read, of which the first is printed in full: abstracts of the others are given.

## TWO HEBREW BIBLES OF FOUR HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

BY THE REV. R. KILGOUR, D.D.

The year 1517 marks an important era in the printing of the Hebrew Bible. On the 10th of July was completed the printing of the Old Testament in the original tongue edited for the first time by a Christian, and towards the close of the same year there appeared the *editio princeps* of the *Biblia Rabbinica*, containing the text, Targums and Commentaries dear to the pious Jew.

The value of the printing press was speedily realised by the Jews scattered over Southern Europe. The earliest printed Hebrew book dates from 1475. Two years later appeared the first Scripture portion in Hebrew, the Psalms, printed most probably at Bologna, a name to be held in reverence in the University of Glasgow. Before the end of the 15th century presses with founts of Hebrew type were to be found in fifteen or sixteen places in Italy, Portugal and Spain. Opulent merchants, famous printers, learned and pious scholars (the names of many have been preserved) counted it an honour thus to share in the diffusion of the sacred text. During the following forty years, three complete Hebrew Bibles were printed at Soncino, Naples and Brescia: five Pentateuchs were produced at Bologna, Faro, Izar, Lisbon and Brescia: the Prophets, complete, were issued from Soncino; and, in part, from Lisbon: the Hagiographa, complete, from Naples; and, in part, from Bologna (?). There is a significant break at the turn of the century. For the infamous edict expelling the Jews

from Spain was dated 30th March, 1492; and for more than a dozen years, Jews were subjected to atrocities and persecutions which rudely interrupted the peaceful art of printing the Hebrew Bible. It was not until 1510 that the first Hebrew Scripture of the 16th century appeared. This was printed at Pesaro. Another, printed at Salonika soon after, is represented in the early editions which have survived. All these, however, were prepared by Jews for their co-religionists.

### I. *The Complutensian Polyglot.*

The first Hebrew Bible in the preparation of which Christians were engaged, and also the first Hebrew Bible printed in Spain, appeared in 1517. It is contained in the famous work known as the Complutensian, the Spanish, or Ximenes' Polyglot. This was produced at the expense of Cardinal Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo, the founder of the University of Complutum, or Alcala de Henares, the forerunner, till last century, of the University of Madrid. The book is said to have been begun in 1502 in honour of the birth of the child who afterwards became Charles V. Ximenes collected a band of scholars, some of them converts from Judaism. Of the 50,000 gold ducats said to have been spent by him on the work, 4,000 went in buying seven Hebrew MSS. Other MSS. he borrowed. The New Testament part of his Polyglot Bible, the fifth of the six volumes, was completed, though not actually published, in the beginning of 1514; thus, in composition of type, preceding Erasmus' Greek New Testament by a couple of years. The first four volumes containing the Old Testament were finished, the colophon tells us, on the 10th July, 1517. The complete work was evidently not in circulation till 1522. Each page has three columns, the Latin Vulgate having the central place, with the Hebrew and Greek representing the Synagogue and the Eastern Church on either side "like the two thieves one on each side, and Jesus, that is the Roman Church, between them."

The order of the books conforms to that of the Vulgate. In the Hebrew text, the chapter system of the Latin Bibles was adopted in place of the Massoretic divisions: and Samuel, Kings, Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles were each divided into two books. Like many other Christians who have begun the study of Hebrew, the editors discarded the accents: but they added special signs as guides in reading. The vowel-points are printed carelessly. *Keri* and *Kethiv* "are indicated, but in the same perplexing way in which the earlier editions notice them."\*

What manuscripts and printed editions were used in the preparation of this edition is not indicated. But the late Dr. Christian David

\* Ginsburg's *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*, p. 916.



Ginsburg, an honorary graduate of our own University, gives good reasons for believing that the principal Codex employed is one which is now in the University Library at Madrid.\* As a specimen of Hebrew printing this great folio is of considerable interest, though on questions of textual criticism it is no safe guide.

## II. *The First Biblia Rabbinica.*

*Daniel Bomberg, the Printer.*—The other Hebrew Bible of 1517 is the first of the seven editions of the *Biblia Rabbinica*.† In the Epigraph contained in the fourth volume, the printer describes himself as “Daniel, son of Cornelius Bomberg of Amsterdam who now resides in the populous city of Venice . . . I am fully conscious of my imperfections and infirmity . . . a child in understanding, weak in wisdom, deficient in accomplishments . . . having learned with my humble powers that the Law of the Lord is perfect, refreshing to the soul, that it alone has the birthright to enlighten all mankind wheresoever they exist in all manner of wisdom and knowledge and learning of every kind, therefore have I chosen to master it with intelligent friends and wise and experienced colleagues.”

Bomberg began life at Antwerp. Thence he removed to Venice, where he established a printing press which soon became famous for its work in Hebrew. He was fortunate in his editors or “correctors for the press,” Felix Pratensis and Jacob ben Chayim. No doubt it was after many conversations ranging over several years that at last he agreed to print the great Bible. As part of the preparation the Jewish scholar, Felix, taught the Christian printer the Hebrew tongue. He seems to have been a kindly sympathetic man, this Daniel Bomberg. Jacob ben Chayim, a Jew exiled from Tunis, testifies how when after his wanderings through Rome and Florence he reached Venice, “God sent a highly distinguished and pious Christian, of the name of Daniel Bomberg, to meet me.” Elias Levita, the learned Hebraist, speaking of Bomberg’s kindness to his race, praises the munificence of one “who though uncircumcised in the flesh is circumcised in the spirit.” His compositors and readers were skilled craftsmen, for whose welfare he showed great care. For the purpose of producing this Hebrew Bible he required Jewish printers. Shakespeare’s pictures of the relations of Venice and the Jews is not exaggerated. It was only by persistently pressing his demands that at last in 1515 Felix Pratensis and Bomberg secured that the four Jews whom they considered necessary should have special privileges to enable them to do their work without insult and

\* Ginsburg’s *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*, p. 918.

† Four others were printed at Venice in 1525, 1548, 1568, 1619; one at Basle, 1619; and one at Amsterdam, 1727.

interruption. As a great concession the Government granted these workmen temporary permission to wear a black cap instead of the yellow cap by which the despised race were distinguished in the streets of Venice.

In the same year Bomberg applied to the College and Senate of Venice for a patent in his Hebrew types (*lettere cuneata si in rame como in stagno o in altra materia improntate*); and for a copyright for his Hebrew books. He bases his claim upon the fact that his work had already cost him *grande spese si del far excider le lettere hebree et attrouar persone doctissime in hebreo al componer et emendar ditti libri*. He received a favourable answer to both requests: and when he applied in 1518 for a renewal of these privileges it was granted, we are told, "by 113 votes against 17 noes and 7 doubtfuls."\*

Not content with issuing this great *Biblia Rabbinica* in 1517 Bomberg soon began making preparations for the second *Biblia Rabbinica* which appeared in 1525. To him, too, we owe three quarto editions of the Hebrew text and also the first complete edition of the Talmud published in 1520/3. He died in 1549.

*Felix Pratensis, the Editor*.—The scholar to whose suggestion Daniel Bomberg probably owed the publication of a *Biblia Rabbinica*, and to whom was entrusted the preparation of the work, was Felix, who took the surname of Pratensis from the town of Prato in Tuscany, where he was born of Jewish parents about the middle of the 15th century. A translation of the Psalms into Latin, which in his preface he tells us he had completed in fifteen days, was printed in 1515. At one time he evidently intended making a new Latin version of the whole Old Testament, but this he never accomplished. He describes himself in this preface as "ordini Heremitarum S. Augustini adscriptum." At what date "Judaeorum castra relinquens ad Christianorum sacra transiit" is not exactly known. Masch's *Le Long* puts it "ante annum 1515."† Dr. C. D. Ginsburg, also a Jew who afterwards "embraced Christianity," thinks it was in 1513.‡ It appears, then, that he had reached mature age ere he changed his faith shortly before the issue of the book. The preparation of the work, the examination of the text, the composition of the type, the proof-reading and printing must have taken considerable time. It was not till the middle of 1517 that it was issued, with its copyright carefully guarded.§ In 1518 Felix returned to Rome "ibique plures per annos Hebraeis Romae degentibus sanctiores doctrinas sermone hebraeo explicavit. Anno 1523 Magister Theologus creatus est. Obiit Romae fere centenarius anno 1539."||

\* Horatio F. Brown: *Venetian Printing Press*, p. 105.

† I. p. 18 n, p. 97.

§ *Venetian Printing Press*, p. 63.

‡ Kitto's *Cyclopedia*, p. 587.

|| Masch's *Le Long*, II, p. 97.

*Criticism of Felix's Work.*—Either shortly before or shortly after the issue of the book, an even greater Massoretic scholar, Jacob ben Chayim, came within Bomberg's circle. Himself an ultra orthodox Rabbinic Jew (though there is every reason to believe that ere his death he too became a Christian\*) no doubt he pointed out to the Christian printer "the disadvantage of appealing to Jewish communities to purchase a Rabbinic Bible edited by a neophyte Augustinian monk and dedicated to the Pope."† He persuaded Bomberg to undertake a second edition to be issued immediately after the license for the first expired: and commenced examining Codices and the Massorah for this purpose. That this second edition was a great improvement upon Felix's work is generally acknowledged; it has been the basis of the Massoretic text in practically all succeeding editions since its issue in 1525/6. But we must not fail to pay our tribute to the services of the pioneer, Felix Pratensis.

*The Book Itself.*—Dr. Ginsburg, whose own editions of the Hebrew text reveal his store of Massoretic learning and patient loving scholarship, claims that this first *Biblia Rabbinica* is "a most important contribution to textual criticism."

The work was issued in four large folio volumes. Before 1517 there had appeared editions containing Targums, and editions containing Commentaries. The very first printed Hebrew Scriptures, for example, have the text "embedded in Kimchi's Commentary"; the first Pentateuch had the Targum of Onkelos and Rashi's Commentary. But this Rabbinic Bible was the first to collect all these into one book, and present them along with the text of the whole Bible.

The upper part of each page contains two parallel columns. Both are printed in Hebrew character, with neat clear vowel-points and accents. The column in slightly larger type, on the inside, is the text in Hebrew. Alongside is the Targum, the translation or paraphrase of that text in the vulgar tongue. On the lower part of each page, printed right across in Rabbinic character, there are given commentaries on the books by various learned Rabbis.

Volume I contains the title-page,‡ on the verso of which is printed in Latin Felix's dedication of the work to Pope Leo X.—like many other pieces of such literature, more full of flattery than of accuracy. Then follows the Pentateuch. The Hebrew text and the Aramaic Version or Targum of Onkelos are printed in parallel columns. This usually takes up almost the whole of the upper half of the page. Beneath is given the Commentary of Rashi. The first word of each

\* See Jacob ibn Adonijah's *Introduction to the Rabbinic Bible*, edited by C. D. Ginsburg, p. 11.

† Ginsburg's *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*, p. 956.

‡ Given in full in Ginsburg's *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*, p. 926.

book is printed in large letters. A Massoretic summary (not always accurate) of the number of verses is given at the close of each book: and at the close of the Pentateuch these summaries are repeated and a sum-total (again inaccurate) of all the verses in the five books is given.\*

Volume II contains the Former Prophets printed with the Targum of Jonathan bar Uzziel, and Kimchi's Commentary. At the end of 1 Samuel 21<sup>13</sup> a line is printed stating

"Here the non-Jews begin the 2nd book of Samuel which is the second book of Kings by them."

After 1 Kings 32<sup>24</sup> there is simply an asterisk pointing to a note in the margin which reads

"Here the non-Jews begin the fourth book of Kings."

Volume III gives the Latter Prophets with the Targum of Jonathan and Kimchi's Commentary and is printed like Volumes I and II.

Volume IV contains, first, the Hagiographa with Targums, mostly the Targum of R. Joseph and Commentaries. Then follows the Epigraph by Daniel Bomberg from which we have already made extracts. In it he states that the work was finished in the sixteenth year of the Doge Leonardo Loredano: in the year 278 of the shorter era, on the 27th day of the month Kislev, i.e. towards the close of 1517.

After this is printed the Papal Injunction protecting the editor and printer "for ten years from 1515." And then come important appendices giving I (a), The Jerusalem Targum, i.e. Targum Jerushalmi II, on the Pentateuch; (b), the second Targum known as the Targum *Sheni* on Esther (both printed for the first time); II, a Table of Haphtaroth for the Sabbaths, Feasts and Fasts throughout the year; III, the Thirteen Articles of Faith formulated by Maimonides; and IV, the treatise called *Dikduke Ha-Teamim* by Ben-Asher, printed for the first time.†

In the margins of all four volumes are given the official *Keris*, and in addition the editor notes many other variations in vowel-points, accents and consonants. Where, according to the *Sopherim*, a word has dropped out of the text, the editor gives the word in the margin; and where a superfluous word occurs, this also is noted. These and many other Massoretic glosses appear here for the first time in a printed edition.

A special interest attaches to the copy of this important book from which the above notes have been made. It appears to have belonged to Felix Pratensis and contains in the margin many notes and corrections in his autograph. For many years it was the property of Dr. Ginsburg and now rests among many other treasures in

\* Ginsburg's *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*, p. 927. † *Ibid.*, pp. 925-945.

the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society at 146, Queen Victoria Street, London, under the care of a Librarian whose first interest in things Oriental dates from his days at Glasgow under the much loved "Rabbi" who founded the Glasgow University Oriental Society.

### MOSLEM SCHOOLS IN SYRIA.

BY THE REV. J. ROBERTSON BUCHANAN, B.D.

Until the early decades of last century the Turkish Government had no control of education, everything being in the hands of the 'Ulema. Reform began during the reign of Sultan 'Abd-al-Mejid (1839-1861); the famous edict—the Hatti Humayun—setting forth the Government's ideals regarding education, was promulgated in 1856; but the official educational law of the Turkish Empire was not published until 1869, in the reign of 'Abd-al-'Aziz (1861-1876). Its provisions regarding schools were briefly as follows:

(1) Each village shall have at least one elementary school; in towns of more than 500 families an elementary school of a higher grade shall be established.

(2) Each town of more than 1,000 shall have a secondary school, and the capital of each province a Lycée.

(3) At Constantinople there shall be an Imperial University and a great Council of Education.

For some years little was done to put these provisions into effect, but the reign of 'Abd-al-Hamid (1876-1908) saw efforts put forth to develop higher-grade schools, not only in the Capital but also in the provinces, and since the Turkish Constitution was proclaimed, one of the main tasks of the Young Turk Party has been to give effect to the provisions of this law and spread education over the whole Empire.

To-day (i.e., before the Great War) public or Government schools exist in 3 main grades:

#### I. Elementary Schools—subdivided into

- (a) Ibtida'iyeh or lower primary, and
- (b) Rushdiyyeh or higher primary.

No fees are charged. The course covers 3 years in each subdivision. The language of instruction is the vernacular, i.e., Arabic for Syria. The instruction is compulsory, the girls, however, being taught separately from the boys. Much time is spent in memorising Suras of the Koran. Practically every village has now a lower primary school; higher primary schools are found at the centre of each *Qaimaqamiyeh*, some centres having two, one for boys and one for girls; also, at the centre of each *Mutasarrifiyeh* there are such schools for both sexes, though the education of most girls ends with the lower primary school.

Typical curriculum for final year (*rushdiyyeh*) is:

**Koran; Religious Instruction; Turkish Accidence; Reading; Persian Grammar; Arithmetic; Practical Geometry; Survey of General History; General and Ottoman Geography; Facts of Civilisation and Morals; French.**

**II. Secondary Schools—subdivided into**

(a) *I'dadiyeh* (Preparatory), and

(b) *Sultaniyeh* (*Lycées*).

These at present form a unity, the only *Lycée* strictly so-called being that of *Galata-Serai* at Constantinople. The Preparatory Schools, which actually exist only at the capital of each *Wilayah*, have been changed in name to *Lycées* throughout twelve *Wilayehs* of the Empire, including Beirut and Aleppo in Syria. The curriculum covers seven years (first three of *Rushdiyyeh* grade and last four of *I'dadiyeh* grade); the modified curriculum in smaller centres covers five years (three of *Rushdiyyeh* and two of *I'dadiyeh* grade).

Instruction is given in Mathematics, Science, History, Moslem Law, and Languages. Provision has recently been made for a Turkish *I'dadiyeh*, where Turkish is to be the medium of instruction, and an Arabic *I'dadiyeh*, with Arabic as the language of instruction. Next to Turkish and Arabic comes French in importance, on which much emphasis is being laid in the Syrian *I'dadiyehs* at Beirut, Aleppo, Damascus, and Jerusalem. At Beirut, English and German have also a place in the curriculum.

Fees are now charged. External examiners assist the teachers in conducting the oral and written examinations, and the Certificate awarded at the end of the course entitles one to enter the advanced schools at Constantinople without further examination. These schools are confined to boys, girls seldom going so far in their studies; in Constantinople, however, provision for secondary education is made for girls as well as for boys.

**III. Advanced Schools—including the Imperial University and the various special or professional schools at Constantinople.**

In Syria there is a Medical School at Damascus, which, however, is likely to be removed to Beirut, the intellectual centre of that part of the Empire. There are also two special schools at Beirut—a Law School and a Normal School—the latter being meant to meet the needs of the Lower and Higher Primary Schools in Syria. Damascus has now a Normal School like Beirut. The staffs of the Preparatory Schools in Syria are recruited from the graduates of the Normal Training Schools in Constantinople. The *Lycée* at Aleppo has two departments, civil and military, the latter of which is worthy of mention here.

Besides these Public or Government Schools, there are also the

mosque schools, which are still largely under the control of the 'Ulema, although the Government is seeking an ever-increasing share in their supervision.

Many of the primary mosque schools have already been taken over and are being controlled by the Government, but the higher mosque schools are more independent. They are the direct descendants of the ancient abodes of higher learning among the Moslems, and to this day in spite of attempts at reform retain most of their primitive characteristics. Their purpose is to train the religious leaders of Islam, who form at the same time the legal guides of the people, Islamic law being based on the *Ḳoran*. The highest and largest of these schools are to be found at Constantinople and Cairo. In Syria the establishment of such a Theological School is being planned at Beirut. The course of study embraces the two departments of Language and Theology, as these have been handed down from the past. Under Theology comes the study of the *Ḳoran*, the Traditions (*Ḥadith*), and Jurisprudence (*Fikh*), while Language means the study of Arabic Grammar, Poetry, and Rhetoric. A place is also given to Logic and Moral Philosophy. Many have received a general education by attending one of the Government Secondary Schools before entering the mosque school, but within the latter the atmosphere is that of tradition, leaving no scope for freedom of thought or investigation. The deadening hand of authority holds sway in philosophical as in theological discussion. While the memory is undoubtedly much exercised, the understanding is undeveloped.

Not all students who attend these schools are admitted to the ranks of the 'Ulema. Those who show themselves unfit to pursue satisfactorily the more advanced subjects are dropped out and given positions as teachers of primary schools. Those who cannot master the intricacies of Arabic grammar, but have received a good training in the *Ḳoran* and the Traditions, are likewise dropped and become Imams or pastors. These two grades are the lowest and strictly are not included among the 'Ulema, but the next grade, that of Mudarris or teacher in a mosque school, is the starting-point of the learned class. If the Mudarris continues his studies, he may later graduate as a recognised authority on religion, and have the possibility of becoming a professor or a judge. Further study may raise him to the still higher rank of chief judge in one of the five cities—Damascus, Aleppo, Cairo, Adrianople, or Brussa. The highest grade of all is that of Sheikh-al-Islam, whose seat is at Constantinople, next to the Sultan. By this system of elimination only men of ability are likely to rise to the highest ranks. Some of the teachers in these schools are salaried by the Government. Tuition and board are gratis, expenses being met by the waḳf funds and other gifts.

## RELIGION IN ANCIENT EGYPT.

BY THE REV. DUNCAN H. BRODIE, B.D.

The character of a people must be determined by their religious beliefs. So far as the ancient Egyptians are concerned that character must be read in the great stone book of Khemi, in monumental remains and papyrus records. These all reflect the intensely religious character of an ancient, clever, and highly accomplished people. Temples, tombs and monuments carry us back to days when the power of Theban Kings waxed and waned. All would appear to justify the philosopher's definition of man as "a religious animal" and to support the belief that what is not provable to the senses was the basis of man's religious thinking in an ancient world. We cannot fix the dawn either of civilisation or religion in Egypt, but a table of Sneferu (IVth Dynasty) bears evidence that some 1100 years before Abraham's day, and 2600 years before Rome was founded, Egypt possessed an organised and elaborate religious system.

There is a certain amount of intolerance in early religions—a tendency to detest those who hold different opinions from others. Admitting this, we must acknowledge that the faith of ancient Egypt was a composite one; and in all likelihood, this would account for the falling away from monotheism to polytheism and idolatry. Greeks settled in Egypt, and Greek and Egyptian deities were often mixed in the religious ritual. Similarly when Syrian and Egyptian came together there was a fusion of Baal and Ashteroth with the legends of Isis and Osiris and Horus, Anubis, Nebhat, and others. Hence the difficulty to account for some of the forms of religious belief in ancient Egypt. Still under great variety there was a unity. Belief in one Supreme God—eternal, self-existent, invisible, the Creator and Lawgiver of man whom He endowed with an immortal soul—seems to lie at the foundation of the ancient religion.

Some notable Egyptologists concur in the belief that the unity of God formed the first article in the creed of ancient Egypt. Monotheism, however, early degenerated into polytheism, with nature for its basis, conspicuous natural objects and living creatures being venerated as living embodiments and expressions of the deity, and as gods of both the living and the dead. The deities of ancient Egypt were many and varied, but no educated Egyptian conceived of the popular gods as really separate or distinct beings. All knew that there was but one God, and understood that when worship was offered to Khem, or Kneph, or Ptah, or Maut, Thoth or Amon, the One God was worshipped under some one of His powers, or in some one of His aspects.



Ra was Supreme; Nature was the garment of God, and ancient theology was highly saturated with the geography of the country.

The religion of the ancient Egyptian was largely symbolic, and one of the most sacred symbols was the triangle. Consequently their gods were arranged in triads, *e.g.* Ptah, Sekhet, and Nephersu, at Memphis; Osiris, Isis, and Horus, at Abydos; Amon, Mut, and Khons, at Thebes. In such an arrangement was typified a doctrine of the Trinity.

The ancient worshipper believed in a future state, in the immortality of the soul, in Hades, Heaven, and Hell; and like his neighbour, the Assyrian, the Egyptian gave evidence of belief in a doctrine of purgatory, and in the resurrection. Great care was shown to the dead. The belief was held that there was an invisible something apart from the body, a second body, the image of the mind or inner consciousness. This was the "Ka" which wanders about the cemetery after death, has a bodily form, needs food, is distinct from the Ba or Soul, and some 3000 years after death is reclaimed by its owner and conducted to bliss with the gods.

The ancient Egyptian had firm belief in the doctrine of reincarnation or the transmigration of souls. Nothing spiritual can die. The Soul at death enters into another form; when that form passes away, then into another, and so on in kaleidoscopic succession. In the faith of ancient Egypt there was piety to the gods, loyalty to the throne, obedience to superiors, and a recognition of all the principal moral laws. Sublime as that religion in many respects may have been, it sunk to a gigantic idolatry, and a mere animal worship—against which Shemitic influence must again and again have made itself felt—against the worship of idols, and in favour of the worship of "the living God."

*29th April, 1918.*

This meeting was attended by 22 members. News of the loss on military service of a third member of the Society, the Rev. Robert Stevenson, B.D., was received with deep regret. Two papers were read, of which abstracts are given.

## THE MOSAIC ORIGIN OF THE DECALOGUE.

BY PROFESSOR J. E. MCFADYEN, D.D.

The elaborated form of this paper is found in a series of articles which appeared in successive numbers of the *Expositor* from February to September, 1916. They are in defence of the thesis that there is no substantial reason for denying the ethical Decalogue to Moses. The various chapters of the discussion are as follows:

*February 1:* The Ritual Decalogue.

*February 2:* Egyptian and Babylonian Parallels to the Ethical Decalogue.

*March 1:* The Original Form of the Decalogue.

*March 2:* Can the Original Form of the Decalogue be Mosaic?

*April:* The Fourth Commandment.

*May:* The Second Commandment.

*July:* The Second Commandment.

*August 1:* The Relation of the Decalogue to Prophecy.

*August 2:* The Decalogue and Individualism.

*September:* The Unique Distinction of the Decalogue.

## THE OPPRESSION OF THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL FROM AN EGYPTIAN STANDPOINT.

BY THE REV. COLIN CAMPBELL, D.D.

The form of the oppression considered here is the brickmaking episode which seems to be the climax, according to J, of their sufferings. To compel them to make bricks without having "straw" (תבן LXX *ἄχυρα*, properly "chaff," refuse of the threshing-floor) supplied to them, was apparently equivalent to asking them to perform a practically impossible task. Hence, the common saying, "You cannot make bricks without straw." J's narrative leads us to believe that the withholding of "straw" was, to use a Hibernianism, the last straw that broke their backs; and "so the people were scattered abroad throughout all the land of Egypt to gather stubble," קש (the stalk of barley or wheat after the ears had been reaped) for תבן. Josephus improves on J's narrative by stating that the people were made "to work hard at brickmaking in the daytime, and to gather chaff, *ἄχυρα*, in the night." For all that, the people apparently failed to meet the daily quota of bricks exacted, for they were beaten, being charged at the same time with shirking their task on the pretence of observing a religious ordinance to Jahweh in the wilderness. It is alleged by Prof. Kennedy that "what the Israelites did was to pull up the stalks of wheat left standing in the fields and to cut them into short pieces suitable for

brickmaking, instead of being allowed to procure *šbn* ready to their hand from the threshing floors."

From an Egyptian point of view the chief objection to J's narrative is his ignorance of the possibility of making bricks in Egypt from Nile-mud without an admixture of *tebhen*, or any other material to reinforce it. That cohesive mud needs no such reinforcement for making common bricks, especially on an extensive scale. A sun-dried brick made of mere mud will, if water is kept away from it, last for ages; and, as a matter of fact, the enormous remains of ancient brick buildings in every district of Egypt and Nubia are composed of "strawless" bricks. Not only so, but "to make bricks without straw" was and still is, in Egypt, not only not a hard or impossible task, but by far the easiest, commonest, and most economical method of making bricks, especially for such extensive operations as the Israelites are believed to have been engaged in. In such circumstances *tebhen* or any other admixture would not be needed at all, as the picture in Rekhmara's tomb-chapel shows. Among the many details of that scene there is not a trace of the use of *tebhen*, yet the picture is usually cited in commentaries in illustration of Israel's bondage in brickmaking. And to-day, brickmaking may be seen going on, but of course without the taskmaster, precisely in the same fashion, not a hundred yards from that noble's tomb who was the vizier of the Pharaoh, Thothmes III, supposed by some to be the Pharaoh of the oppression. Prof. Petrie, in *Egypt and Israel*, gives a picture of modern brickmaking "without straw," remarking at the same time that "it is by no means essential to mix straw in the bricks, and most of the ancient and modern bricks do not contain straw"—a mild way surely of stating the numerical preponderance of strawless bricks over bricks containing straw. He suggests further that "finely chopped straw, as from a threshing-floor, may be very useful for dipping the hand in, to prevent mud sticking to it and to coat each lump of mud before dropping it in the mould, so as to prevent sticking at each stage, and to enable the work to go on quickly and easily." If that were all the use the "straw" was needed for, it would hardly be necessary for the people to search throughout the land for the small quantity required for such a purpose. Besides, "straw" (*šp*) in ancient Egypt never reached the threshing-floor, where the ears only were dealt with, as many tomb-pictures prove. J evidently believed that the *tebhen*, or similar material, was meant to be mixed with the mud as an essential element in the composition of the bricks, and so reveals his imperfect knowledge of Egyptian practice. Similarly, in stating that the people, in obeying Pharaoh's edict, "were scattered abroad to gather stubble (*šp*) for *tebhen*," he seems to think that the Egyptian straw was of as little value as the *tebhen* or refuse of the threshing-floor, and could be

gathered with impunity for mixing with the Nile-mud, whereas it was as precious for the cattle as the grain was for man. The "stubble" in Egypt consisted of the whole stalks remaining after the ears of grain were reaped, and was afterwards cut down to the ground, as many tomb-pictures show, to be carefully preserved for fodder for the cattle, being all they had to live on for the rest of the year until the short berseem or clover season arrived in winter. It is safe to say therefore that the Israelites would not have been permitted on any account—least of all for brickmaking—"to pull up these stalks," as Prof. Kennedy affirms, "and cut them up into short pieces, instead of being allowed to procure the *tebhen* ready to their hand from the local threshing-floors." Nor was it ever the practice in Egypt, whatever it may have been in Palestine, "to burn the corn-stalks for manure," as the annual inundation sufficiently supplied that fertilising agent. Certain it is, too, that Pharaoh's edict, curiously enough, makes no mention of שֵׁבֶל (*tebhen*), but only of *tebhen*; and the indiscriminate use of these terms by J indicates his confused conception of the nature and purposes of both. Mr. Somers Clarke, a well-known architect, who has spent about thirty winters in Egypt and who has employed the fellahin in making many hundred thousand bricks, testifies that the admixture of *tebhen* is by no means always required, adding that even *tebhen*, much less "straw" in the English sense, "could only have been got by the Israelites by stealing from the threshing-floors at the cost of broken heads." The millions of bricks needed for ordinary building purposes, not to mention the immense government works for which the Egyptians as well as the Israelites would be impressed in the *corvée*, would demand such an enormous amount of straw or chaff from the threshing-floors as could hardly be supplied except at the expense of the cattle. If there was corn in Egypt for starving foreigners, the Egyptians took care there was provender for the hungry kine. As the refrain of a threshing song of an XVIIIth Dynasty tomb-chapel at El Kab says:

"Thresh for yourselves, O oxen !  
The straw for you, the corn for your masters."

Whether or not we believe with a recent commentator that J's sympathies make him exaggerate the hardships of Israel in Egypt, it is time to view the story of the brickmaking, and possibly of the whole oppression, from its proper angle, and to recognise under the growing light of discovery that the writer while knowing a great deal about Ancient Egypt and its ways did not know enough to warrant our acceptance of the story as sober history. The writer evidently did not know that the withholding of the *tebhen* was actually a mitigation, not an aggravation, of the people's labour.

14th October, 1918.

At this meeting 12 members were present. Two papers were read.

### THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT.

By PROFESSOR A. R. S. KENNEDY, D.D.

In this paper the circumstances were explained that led to the issue in 1896 of Theodor Herzl's *Judenstaat*, which gave rise to the Jewish nationalist movement known as Zionism. As defined by the first Zionist Congress, held at Basle in 1897, "Zionism strives to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law."

The outstanding points in the history of the movement before and after Herzl's death were noted, and attention called to the new situation created by the entry of Turkey into the war on the side of Germany, and to the epoch-making "Balfour Declaration" of November, 1917, in which the British Government undertook to "use their best endeavours to facilitate the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people."

A short account was given of the Zionist organisation and of the principal parties within the Zionist ranks, such as the orthodox Mizrachi party and the Poale Zion or socialist party. In conclusion a statement was made of the difficulties to be faced in the attempt to realise the idea of a Jewish national home, under present conditions, in Palestine.

### "JOT AND TITTLE."

By THE LATE REV. J. E. H. THOMSON, D.D.

The terms *jot* and *tittle* occur in our Lord's Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5<sup>18</sup>): "Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled." While the general truth is clear, that all the precepts of the law, even those which seem of least importance, are binding, the reference of the figure is not so evident. Origen's view is that commonly held: that the reference is to the *yodh* as the smallest letter in the Hebrew alphabet, and in the "tittle" (*kerai'a*) to the small protuberances which distinguish *daleth* from *resh* and *beth* from *caph*. This, however, applies only to the square character, which was not in use in the days of our Lord. From the coins of the period we know that the script in which Hebrew was then written was closely akin to Samaritan. In it the *yodh* is not a small letter, and the letters confusingly like in the square character are distinguished from each other very differently

than by the minute protuberances to which Origen referred. Further the *yodh* as a contraction for the sacred name was never counted unimportant; and if *daleth* were changed to *resh* the creed of the Israelite (Deut. 6<sup>4</sup>) would be reversed.

On the other hand, *iota* is certainly the smallest letter in the Greek alphabet; even in the uncial script is this the case. When subscript, as it was not pronounced, it was liable to be regarded as negligible; in certain otherwise carefully written MSS. it was not inserted, e.g. the Codex Alexandrinus. Yet its presence or absence might change the meaning of a word. As to *kerasia* ("title"), it was a known grammatical term and meant sometimes the accents and sometimes a line written above a vowel to indicate that it was long. These were often regarded as negligible. From Philo and Plutarch we find that it was a proof of excessive meticulousness to be taken up with these *kerasiai*.

If it be objected that our Lord's auditors would not be impressed by such an illustration, as they spoke and wrote Aramaic, I answer that I doubt this; evidence against such a view is to be found in the fact that the inscriptions not only on all the Herodian coins but also on those of the later Maccabæans are in Greek; the latter had Hebrew on the one side and Greek on the other. There are other proofs which could be advanced to show that the inhabitants of Palestine were bi-lingual.

The theory that the *kerasiai* were the *tagin*, i.e. ornamental fringes added to the top of seven letters in the square character need hardly be considered. As these additions were only made to the letters in the square script, it is sufficient to repeat that the square character was not in use in our Lord's days.

28th April, 1919.

Sixteen members were present. A Minute was approved commemorative of the Rev. William Kean, D.D., who recently died at Petrograd. Dr. Kean was one of three distinguished students whom Prof. Robertson associated with himself in the formation of the Society in 1880. In his early manhood he served in the Jewish mission at Alexandria, and at the time of his death had acted for many years as the British and Foreign Bible Society's agent in Russia. It was agreed that a further volume of the Society's *Transactions* should be published forthwith, if funds permit. The Society resolved to communicate with H.M. Secretaries

of State for Foreign Affairs and for India with reference to the protection and preservation of ancient monuments and sites in Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor and Egypt.

Two papers were read: the first, in accordance with a resolution of the meeting, is printed in full: an abstract of the second is given.

### THE AHMADIYA MOVEMENT.

BY THE REV. R. B. DOUGLAS, B.D.

The Ahmadiya movement started nearly 40 years ago in a village called Qadian, in the Panjab. From this circumstance its members are often called Qadianis, but they object to this name as disrespectful. The leaders now claim a following of about 500,000 people, who are to be found not only in India, but in Africa, Australia, China and other lands. There are, however, no means available of testing the accuracy of this statement.

The founder of the movement was Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, chief of the village of Qadian. He claimed descent from a noble family, whose heads at one time governed an independent state. They were driven out by the Sikhs, but when British authority was established in the Panjab a small part of their former state was restored to them. From his youth Ghulam Ahmad was of a quiet and retiring disposition, so much so that his father had serious apprehensions as to his worldly future. On the day of his father's death, before any fatal symptoms had made their appearance, he had a revelation foretelling that the event would take place after sunset, and bringing him encouragement in these words, "Is not God sufficient for His servant?" The revelations continued, and in 1880, some of them were collected and published in a book called *Barahin-i-Ahmadiya*. In 1888 he announced that God had selected him to be a Khalifa or Mujaddid, and later on, in 1891, he declared that he was the Promised Messiah and Mahdi, who had come to reform Islam, and establish its superiority to all other creeds. He died in 1908, and the community chose as his successor Maulawi Hakim Nuruddin, who was its leader till his death in 1914. He was succeeded by the present Khalifa, Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad, the fourth son of the founder of the movement, who was under thirty years of age at the time. He is described by a writer who is in thorough sympathy with the movement as a keen observer, an accurate thinker, an earnest student, a man of simple life, retiring disposition and affable nature.

The essence of the Mirza Sahib's message is that he is the Promised Messiah and Mahdi, i.e., that in his own person he fulfils the expectation of Muhammadans as to the appearance of the Mahdi or Directed

One, who is to rule according to the example of the Prophet in the last days, and of Christians as to the re-appearance of Jesus upon earth. As he rejects the doctrine of transmigration he does not claim to be a re-incarnation of Muhammad or Jesus, but he claims to come in their spirit and power, as John came in the spirit and power of Elijah. "It is a law of God that he always raises a reformer at the time of spiritual and moral decay. Agreeably to this law He revealed Himself to me, that through me He might infuse new life into men dead in spirit. He exalted me to the dignity of Mahdi and Messiah, and opened up to me all the treasures of sacred wisdom. He has made me His instrument in bringing falsehood to naught." The Messiah, he says, is called the Judge (Hakam), because he shall put a stop to discord by giving a final judgment in all religious questions. He is called the Mahdi (the Guided), because the Almighty Himself shall be his instructor and guiding star, as He was of the Holy Prophet. He is entitled the Messiah, because for the propagation of Islam he shall wield no weapon except that of heartfelt prayer. The spiritual personality of the Messiah and Mahdi is said to be a combination of the spiritual personalities of Muhammad and of Jesus, some of its phases being derived from one and some from the other. Both these great personalities have appeared again through him, and both constitute the key to the secret of his being. (*Claims and Teaching of Ahmad the Promised Messiah and Mahdi*, pp. 80, 81.) The second Messiah, though spiritually one with the first Messiah, is not physically the same person who lived and died before. Jesus likens his advent to that of a thief. Hence the general Christian expectation that he will descend from heaven and be met by an army of the elect in mid-air is wrong: as a matter of fact he has come in the person of Ahmad.

As Mahdi, Ahmad does not claim to supersede Muhammad. His whole teaching is based on unqualified acceptance of the Quran as the final revelation, and of Muhammad as the Prophet of God. "I enjoin on you," he says, "not to forsake the Quran, for it is your life. . . . There is no book for the guidance of the world but the Quran, and no prophet for the intercession of mankind but the Holy Prophet Muhammad. . . . He who, losing himself in his Master, receives the title of prophet from God does not break the seal of prophecy. It is like one's own image in a looking-glass. Such an image of the Holy Prophet is the Promised Messiah." On the other hand, as Messiah of the Muslim line, he claims to be greater than the Messiah of the Mosaic line. "Still," he remarks with sublime complacency, "I honour the Son of Mary, for spiritually I am one with him."

This difference in attitude is an important mark of the essentially Islamic character of his teaching. In accordance with the orthodox



Muhammadian view, the authority of custom is recognised as next to that of the Quran, and then the authority of the traditions, especially the collection of Al-Bokhari. The Quran is looked upon as superseding and completing the revelation contained in the Old and New Testaments, both of which are declared to be imperfect. The doctrine of the Unity of God taught by the Israelite law falls far short, says Ahmad, of the sublime Unity revealed by the Quran, for while the Jewish law forbade the worship of images, it did not teach that any object of that worship and reverence which are due to God alone is an idol. Some of the examples which he adduces of the alleged imperfection of the New Testament may be quoted. While the Mosaic law laid stress upon strict vengeance in all cases, Jesus taught unconditional forbearance and non-resistance. The Quran teaches the middle path, in which punishment of the offender or forbearance ought to be resorted to as the occasion requires. So, it has been said in the Gospel that you should not look upon a strange woman to lust after her, but the Quran says that you should not look at strange women at all, for on such occasions a man is apt to stumble. The Gospels forbid drinking to excess, but the Quran forbids wine altogether, otherwise it is impossible to find the way to God. The whole of the Bible, declares Ahmad, "cannot stand against the Fatihah, or opening Surah of the Quran, a chapter of only seven verses, which discloses such vast treasures of spiritual wisdom as could not be met with in the books of Moses and Jesus, though one were to waste his whole life in turning over their pages." The instances given above sufficiently indicate how far Ahmad has succeeded in grasping the meaning of Christ's teaching, and show how his own discourses furnish the most complete refutation of his claim to come in the spirit and power of Jesus. But in spite of this attitude towards Jesus and the Gospel, it is a curious fact that the Messianic aspect of his supposed mission looms much more largely in the Mirza Sahib's mind than his function as Mahdi. In fact, the main burden of all his writings is to prove his claim to Messiahship, and his mission as Mahdi is allowed to fall into the background till it practically disappears.

The proofs of his claims which Mirza Ghulam Ahmad advances are interesting, but more from a psychological than a theological point of view. In the book entitled *Claims and Teachings of Ahmad* one looks in vain for such a systematic statement of the grounds on which the claims rest as might be expected. But it is possible to make a rough classification.

1. We may take first the argument from predictions in the Quran. In the 73rd chapter Muhammad is described as an apostle like Moses (cf. Deut. 18<sup>12-18</sup>). In the 24th Surah, entitled "An-Nur," it is promised that successors will be raised to Muhammad like the suc-

cessors to Moses. This is interpreted to mean that a Messiah will terminate the chain of successors to Muhammad. From Moses to Jesus there were 14 centuries, therefore the Messiah should appear again in the fourteenth century after Muhammad, that is now, counting by the lunar years. Again, in the 68th Surah, entitled "At-Tahrim," after the faithful have been compared to Mary, the breathing of a soul into her is mentioned. This, says Ahmad, means that the faithful who have been made like Mary will be rewarded by being made Christlike. In fulfilment of this prophecy he says that he was addressed twice by God in special revelations as Mary, and once as Jesus. According to Surah 61 Jesus declared that he had come to announce an Apostle who should come after himself, whose name would be Ahmad. This is, of course, the well-known passage based on Christ's promise of the Parakletos, which is read by Muhammadans as predicting the coming of the Periklutos, i.e. "the praised one," or Ahmad. It is usual to refer this to Muhammad, but the Mirza Sahib refers it to himself, on the ground that he also bears the name of Ahmad, or at least of Ghulam Ahmad.

2. Next to the argument from the Quran comes that from the traditions. One well-known tradition relates that the Prophet predicted the return of Jesus, who would rule as a just king, and break the cross and kill the swine. One sign accompanying his coming would be that camels would not be ridden in his time, on account of the immensity of wealth. Ghulam Ahmad says that he has come to break the cross, i.e. to overthrow the faith of Christians in the cross of Christ, and that the sign regarding camels is fulfilled by the modern substitution of railways as a means of transit. Other signs are eclipses of the moon and sun in the month of Ramazan, which are said to have taken place in 1894, and the appearance of plague, which has been raging in India since 1896.

3. While Ghulam Ahmad constantly repeats the usual Muslim assertion that the Christian Scriptures have been corrupted, he does not hesitate to use the Bible freely in support of his claims. The argument he draws from it, however, is negative rather than positive. As many of the Old Testament predictions regarding the Messiah were not literally fulfilled in the coming of Jesus (e.g. that regarding the appearance of Elijah), so, he says, we are not to expect the literal fulfilment of the New Testament predictions regarding the signs which are to accompany the second advent of Christ. This argument does not prevent the Mirza Sahib using the *ipseissima verba* of the Bible when he can, and it is curious to find him supporting his claim to Messiahship by quotations from some of those erratic expositors who attempt to calculate from Scripture the exact date of our Lord's second coming.

4. The fourth line of argument is that from miraculous signs.

These consist partly in the special revelations which Ahmad claims to have received, and which attest their divine origin by the impression of majesty and power that they convey; and partly in manifestations of special divine favour, such as answers to prayer, protection from plague and so on. But most frequently the signs have taken the form of predictions. A favourite method of argument on the part of Ghulam Ahmad was to issue a prediction regarding the death or disgrace of some opponent, whom he challenged to issue a similar prediction against himself. In this way he claims to have foretold the downfall of the redoubtable Dr. Dowie of Chicago. In an exhaustive examination of the supposed Messiah's claims published in 1892, the Rev. Dr. Griswold of Lahore quotes a statement to the effect that he had made such predictions in the case of no less than 121 persons. The circumstances attending the fulfilment of some of these were such that in 1899 the Government of the Panjab exacted a promise from Mirza Ghulam Ahmad to refrain from the further publication of predictions and challenges involving the disgrace of any person, or representing him as an object of the Divine wrath. Among the publications of the movement since his death is a pamphlet dated 1917, in which is quoted one of his poems, dated 1905, that is alleged to foretell the present world-war, and especially the downfall of the Tsar. "Streams of blood will flow like the water of a rivulet. . . . With the blood of the dead the streams of the mountains shall become like red wine. All men, both high and low, shall lose their presence of mind for fear; even the Tsar of Russia shall be in a miserable condition." The terms of the prophecy are sufficiently general to be capable of various applications. The pamphlet points out that "the words of the prophecy showed that it would be fulfilled not by means of murder but by other means, for one who is killed cannot be said to be in a pitiable plight." No doubt this interpretation will be modified now that news of the assassination of the ex-Tsar has been received.

5. Ahmad realises that if the New Testament account of the death and resurrection of Christ is true, and if the Christian view of his person based on it is sound, his claim to be the Promised Messiah and at the same time to be greater than Jesus cannot stand. Therefore he alleges corruption of the Gospels, and rejects the New Testament story. He apparently departs from the ordinary Muslim theory that it was only the "likeness" of Jesus that was crucified (Surah 4), and declares that when he was taken down from the cross he was only unconscious. After three days he recovered from the swoon, and the disciples applied to his wounds the Marham-i-Isa, or ointment of Jesus, a wonderful remedy known to Jews, Christians, Parsis and Christians, with such success that in 40 days he was able to travel. He visited India, Thibet, and Kashmir, where he died

at the age of 120. His tomb is in the Khan Yár Street, Srinagar. Dr. Griswold points out that this story is partly based on the *Unknown Life of Christ* written by the Russian, Nicolas Nolovitch, and that even this slender authority contradicts the Mirza Sahib's theory in two important respects. (a) It makes Christ visit India not after His crucifixion, but between the ages of twelve and thirty; and (b) it clearly asserts the actual death of Jesus on the cross. As to Jesus' burial in Srinagar, the tomb of a certain Yus Asaf exists in Khan Yár Street. Yus, according to the theory, is clearly a corruption of Yasa or Jesus, and Asaf is from the Hebrew *ásaf*, to gather. Yus Asaf thus means Jesus the Gatherer of the lost sheep, i.e. the lost ten tribes of the house of Israel.

So much for the proofs, which may safely be left to the impression they will make on any intelligent person. While the Messianic claim itself forms the main burden of Ahmad's voluminous writings, there are several other points in his teaching which call for notice.

1. One of these is his attitude towards Jihad. He denies that Islam ever allowed the propagation of the faith by the sword, and asserts that it forbids compulsion in matters of religion. The religious wars of its early history were undertaken in self-defence, or to punish those who were guilty of oppression or outrage on Muslims. Clemency was extended to those who accepted Islam or paid the *jizyah*.

2. The propagation of Islam is therefore to be carried on by means of preaching and writing, and in both these respects the adherents of the movement display considerable activity. A few days ago, I happened to be preaching at a Hindu festival in Bombay, outside a certain church opposite to which are the headquarters of the Ahmadiyas in this city. In front of their hall was displayed a large green banner with the inscription: "The Second Advent of Jesus Christ. The Promised Messiah appeared in this world in the person of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian, Panjab, like the appearance of Elijah in the person of John the Baptist." There followed announcements of weekly lectures, and an invitation to write for particulars to the headquarters of Qadian. Tracts in favour of the movement were being distributed to the crowd. Ahmadiya missionaries are active in lecturing, disputing and distributing the literature which is plentifully issued from the press at Qadian and other centres. An office has been established in London in charge of two missionaries.

We may here notice the educational and literary activity which is connected with this propaganda. At Qadian there is an English High School with a hostel, a Madrasah for the study of Arabic, a class for the training of preachers and two industrial classes. There is also a girls' school, and women are encouraged to attend public

prayers in the mosque. Two journals are issued, an English monthly called *The Review of Religions*, and one in Urdu, entitled *Al-Hakam*. In Ceylon a weekly paper is published in English and Tamil, and in Mauritius there is a fortnightly in English and French. The latest enterprise is an edition of the Quran in Arabic, with transliteration in Roman characters, a new English translation and copious notes. This is to be completed in 30 parts at Rs. 2/- each, but as yet only one part, comprising the first two Surahs, has appeared. Unfortunately the character of the commentary does not inspire great confidence in either the scholarship or the critical impartiality of the writers. The notes on the opening Surah, for example, expound it as a prophecy referring, especially in the last verse, to the coming of the Messiah in the person of Ghulam Ahmad. Canon Sell of Madras has drawn attention to the way in which the note attempts to connect the Surah with a verse in Revelation. Being the opening Surah, it is called Surat-ul-Fatihah. Now Rev. 10<sup>a</sup> speaks of an angel coming down from heaven having a little book open. The learned commentator, who does not seem to know that Revelation was written in Greek, says: "The original Hebrew word is Fatoah (פתח) and the translators, being ignorant of the real significance of the prophecy, translated the word as open. The seven thunders in the prophecy represent the seven verses of this chapter. . . . The little book Fatoah or Fatiha was constantly in the hands of the Promised Messiah, who wrote many commentaries on this chapter. . . . One might say with truth that the chapter had remained up to his days a sealed book." This extract is characteristic not only of the commentary, but of Ahmadiya writings as a whole.

3. The aim of the propaganda is the universal diffusion of Islam as interpreted by Ghulam Ahmad. But the most remarkable development is his declaration that he represents in himself not only Muhammad and Christ, but Krishna. In 1904 he proclaimed that his advent in this age was meant for the regeneration not only of Muhammadans, but of Christians and Hindus. "I come in the character of Raja Krishna, the greatest avatar of the Hindu religion, and spiritually I am the same man." In the early days of his mission Ahmad was strongly opposed by and vigorously attacked the Arya Samaj, but towards the end of his career he sought to draw them into his fold. "One of my revelations on this point," he says, "is, 'O Krishna, destroyer of the wicked, and upholder of the meek, thy praise is written in the Gita.'" The reference here to an oft-quoted verse of the Gita will be recognised by all who have read this poem. "The two attributes of Krishna," he goes on to say, "are exactly the same as those of the Promised Messiah. Thus spiritually Krishna and the Promised Messiah are one and the same person." In a lecture written in 1908, and delivered after his death, he declared

his belief that the Veda was the Word of God, in spite of errors in its teaching. In the same paper he turned to the Sikhs and spoke of their Guru Nanak as an embodiment of Divine mercy for the Hindus, born among them to bear witness to the Divine origin of Islam. His followers carry this tendency further, and describe him as the Messiah, the Mahdi, the Krishna, the Messiodarbahmi and the Buddha. Apparently they wish to take a leaf out of the book of the Theosophists, and to show Mrs. Besant that her announcement of the advent of a world-teacher has been forestalled.

Dr. Griswold has pointed out how close in several respects is the resemblance between the Ahmadiya movement and that of the Babis and the Bihais. The most striking point of contact is the claim of Biha Ullah, or of his followers for him, to be Christ, returned again, as he has promised. Other parallels are the denunciation of Jihad, insistence on loyalty to one's protecting rulers, and friendly intercourse with all sects and peoples. But there are also decided points of contrast. The movement of the Babis and the Bihais is intimately connected with the cult of Ali, a tendency which has existed in Islam since the death of the Prophet himself, and their teachings are coloured by the mystical doctrines of the Sufis. There is nothing of the mystic in Ghulam Ahmad, nor is there any trace in his teaching of the Babi idea that God reveals Himself through a Primal Will distinct from Himself, who becomes incarnate in the Imams. (Sell's *Essays on Islam*.) Still, in its essential significance the movement, like that of the Bihais, is an attempt to overcome the isolation of Islam and modify its antagonism to other faiths. It is plain that in spite of Ghulam Ahmad's attacks on Christians and Christian teaching, what lay at the root of his original claim to Messiahship was a sense of the power of Christ's name, and a desire to enlist that in the propagation of Islam. The denunciation of Jihad, the advances to Hindus and Sikhs, and the tendency to substitute an irenical for a polemical style of argument all point in the same direction. How far the movement may spread it is difficult to estimate. The Messianic claim is an empty assertion, which has behind it no Gospel for men, and no power to help or deliver from sin. There are always people both in the East and the West who are ready to be gulled by the kind of argument on which Ghulam Ahmad's claim rests, but a religion cannot live on argument. Such vigour and momentum as the Ahmadiya movement possesses come not from the Messianic claim but from Islam, and from the desire to establish it as the universal religion. If the present tendency continues to grow of seeking to accomplish this not by a process of conquest, whether physical or intellectual, but by one of absorption, one thing is certain, and that is that the religion which will evolve from the Ahmadiya movement will not be Islam, but something very different.

## PROPHETS OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY B.C.

BY THE REV. C. J. RITCHIE, M.A.

### I. *Zephaniah.*

The title to Zephaniah's book assigns it to the days of Josiah, and this date suits at least the earlier part of it. The general outlook of the prophet is dark and gloomy. Sir G. A. Smith says, "No hotter book lies in the O.T. Neither dew nor grass nor tree nor any blossom lives in it." Its prevailing note is sounded in 1': "The day of the Lord is at hand: for the Lord hath prepared a sacrifice, He hath sanctified his guests." The visitation threatened is to be upon the nation at home because of its sin. Among the sins which come under condemnation are the adoption of foreign fashions and superstitions, and the perversion of justice by the ruling classes—"filling their house with wrong and fraud" (1<sup>9</sup>). The increase of commercialism is regarded with disfavour, as fostering the introduction of foreign influence, which tended to weaken the national spirit, and was inimical to the worship of JHWH. In the day of Jerusalem's calamity there will be a noise of crying from the Fishgate, and wailing from the Mishneh . . . the dwellers in the mortar shall howl—"for undone are all the merchant folk (עַם הַמֶּכֶּרֶת), cut off are all the money dealers." The Judgment will be very searching (1<sup>13</sup>), and visitation will be made upon the sceptics, "who say the Lord will not do good, neither will He do evil." The one hope of deliverance lay in turning from falsehood and vanity to seek the Lord in meekness and righteousness. In the end the prophet falls back on Isaiah's idea of a Remnant. But while Judgment begins at home, it is to extend to other nations, and while Jerusalem will not be spared, there is another city upon which a heavier doom will fall, "Nineveh," the joyous city, that dwelt carelessly and said in her heart, "I am, and there is none else beside me." The terrible sentence pronounced upon her was so literally fulfilled, that the very site of the city was unknown, until it was rediscovered about the middle of last century.

### II. *Nahum.*

The fate of Nineveh, an incident in Zephaniah, is in Nahum the principal theme. His book is called, *Oracle of Nineveh*. He is not concerned with the moral condition of Jerusalem or the internal affairs of the Kingdom of Judah. His attention is turned towards the cruel and tyrannical power that for five centuries had harried the Tigris and Euphrates Valleys, and had lately extended its conquests to the Mediterranean. Nineveh was the seat of its dominion and

upon that city Nahum pours out the vials of his wrath and hatred in the name of JHWH. His theological standpoint is expressed in the opening words. A jealous God and avenging is JHWH; and we meet the counterpart of a phrase with which the Great War made us familiar—"Never again" (לֹא-תָקֹם פְּעֻמִּים צָרָה) (1<sup>9</sup>).

The siege and capture of Nineveh occupy the main part of the poem, and the author seems well acquainted with its topography—a fact easily accounted for if Elkosh (his native place) was in Assyria. The description of the assault and defence is vivid and realistic in the highest degree. In 3<sup>8</sup> the words are like sword-strokes, and no translation can adequately reproduce their vividly realistic effect. To this Hebrew poet Assyria was the Robber State, living by plunder, enlarging itself by ruthless conquest; Nineveh was the city of Blood, full of lies and robbery, and ceaseless rapine. Such language is not mere exaggeration; it is borne out by the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser and Assurbanipal; and a counterpart is afforded by the capture of Thebes referred to by Nahum (3<sup>8-10</sup>).

### III. *Habakkuk.*

The study of Habakkuk raises some interesting and rather difficult questions both of a critical and exegetical nature. Do the wrong and violence, of which complaint is made in the opening verses, refer to the internal condition of Palestine, or to oppression by some foreign power? Critical opinion is divided on this point, and also as to the part assigned to the Chaldeans—were they oppressors, or deliverers? The general view regards them as instruments for the punishment of wrongdoers within the nation. According to the ingenious theory of Budde the woes in c. 2 are pronounced against a foreign oppressor, and deliverance is to come from the Chaldeans, of whom a striking description is given in 1<sup>6-11</sup> (according to B. this passage is misplaced and should come after 2<sup>4</sup>). This view is accepted by Sir G. A. Smith, and adversely criticised by Profs. A. B. Davidson and Driver.

In the opening verses there is a note of trouble and perplexity. All around is violence, yet no deliverance has come. The Law is slacked, and judgment perverted. Amid the moral confusion the prophet falls back upon the thought of God's Eternity, and rests on the conviction that judgment is ordained for wrongdoing. Yet the question remains how a holy God can look on while so much evil is done, and wrongdoers continue unpunished (1<sup>18-19</sup>). C. 2 contains a series of indignant protests against flagrant wrongs, and woes are denounced upon those who wantonly oppress their fellowmen. In these Habakkuk continues the line of true prophetic succession. Very impressive is the figure of the prophet on his Watchtower,



waiting to see what answer God will make to his plaint. The divine message appears to be condensed in 2<sup>d</sup>:

Behold his soul is puffed up, it is not upright in him;  
But the just shall live by his faith.

Critical opinion (for the most part) is agreed that the magnificent Ode in c. 3 is not the work of Habakkuk, and if this conclusion is accepted, the prophecy really ends with the striking words of 2<sup>nd</sup>:

The Lord is in His holy temple,  
Let all the earth keep silence before Him.

13th October, 1919.

This meeting was attended by 24 members. The Rev. A. C. Baird, B.D., was congratulated on his appointment as Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of Aberdeen. It was reported that the Society's funds were insufficient for the publication of a volume of *Transactions* at the present cost of printing. The Society agreed that the annual subscription for ordinary members should be increased to 5/- for a term of three years.

One paper, of which an abstract follows, was read. The Rev. Wm. Ewing, D.D., described "A Chaplain's Experiences in the East," and the Rev. W. M. Christie gave an account of a recent visit to Jerusalem, and exhibited a plan of the new buildings proposed to be erected there.

## HEBREW SYNTAX IN THE SEPTUAGINT.

By THE REV. J. P. WILSON, B.D.

Our English Bible of 1611 is a noble literary classic; but a wide distance separates the Septuagint from the immortal masterpieces of Greek classical literature. St. Augustine disliked Greek, not because it was Greek, but because it was a foreign tongue. Homer was "bitter to his boyish taste." Had he mastered Homer and Plato, the Alexandrian version of the Scriptures would still have had a bitter taste for the exquisite rhetorician who penned the *Confessions*. His "pride recoiled" from the style of the old Latin version; it seemed unworthy to be compared with the Tullian dignity. A similar recoil is the common experience of those who pass from Thucydides and Plato or even from Xenophon and Aristotle to the pages of the Septuagint, nay even from Josephus, who according to

Thumb has only been convicted of one Hebraism, the use of  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\tau\theta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha$  with infinitive =  $\text{הִיטִיף}$ . Josephus, unlike Philo, does not advance a claim to inspiration for the Septuagint. "He follows Aristeas closely, except at the end, where he actually turns the curse pronounced on alteration into an invitation to retrench superfluities or supply defects!" (Conybeare and Stock, *Selections from the Septuagint*.) As a translation the Septuagint is an unequal performance. The translators were not all equally competent. If they miss the sense sometimes, that may be due to imperfect knowledge of Hebrew and ignorance of the traditional interpretation of obscure words or to the condition of their Hebrew text (Swete). In the pursuance of their task they aimed generally at a faithful rendering of the original. Their conception of fidelity has given to their work that general character which separates it from pure literature. Greek idiom is frequently sacrificed, and Hebraisms or apparent Hebraisms are numerous.

The Septuagint translators were "slavishly literal" (Blass, *Grammar of N.T. Greek*): "we have to do with a work of which the vocabulary is Greek and the syntax Hebrew" (Conybeare and Stock, *op. cit.*). But these statements require modification, or at least interpretation. We have to observe that the tendency of ampler study of the papyrus collections is to show that the element strictly denominated Hebraic is smaller than was formerly supposed. We are learning that not a few so-called Hebraisms are characteristic of the colloquial and epistolary Greek of those times. We speak of Hebrew syntax and of Greek syntax, but it may well be that, when the translator in violation of Greek literary idiom followed his Hebrew text somewhat closely, he was just producing a specimen of elementary human syntax. Parataxis is eminently characteristic of Hebrew composition; but it is also eminently characteristic of ordinary human speech. So are anacoloutha. The absence of  $\mu\epsilon\upsilon$  and  $\delta\epsilon$  in balanced clauses is probably due quite as much to primitive and colloquial language as to the absence of corresponding particles in the Hebrew original. We may distinguish, then, between Hebraisms and linguistic coincidences of Hebrew with the common Greek of the period. Then followed illustrative examples, in discussing which an endeavour was made to distinguish the possible sources of the usage in each case.

26th April, 1920.

At this meeting 18 members and 1 visitor were present. The Society unanimously and heartily associated itself with the many congratulations and good wishes offered to

Emeritus-Professor Robertson on the recent attainment of his 80th birthday. The President submitted proofs of a volume of Semitic and Oriental Studies by seven members of the Society, to be published in honour of the occasion, and asked authority, which was cordially given, to publish it in name of the Society. Congratulations were conveyed to the Rev. J. E. H. Thomson, D.D., on the publication of his book, *The Samaritans: their Testimony to the Religion of Israel*. Two papers were read: an abstract of one is given below: the other, entitled "Conditions in Palestine To-day," was contributed by the Rev. W. M. Christie.

### RECENT RESEARCH REGARDING THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE ALPHABET.

BY PROFESSOR W. B. STEVENSON, D.LITT., D.D.

This paper was partly a survey of recent literature and partly a discussion of the chief problems involved in the history of the Early Semitic Alphabet. The books and articles chiefly noticed were:

- (1) A. J. Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, vol. i, 1909—claims a Cretan origin for some of the early letters of the alphabet.
- (2) W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Formation of the Alphabet*, 1912—attempts to show that the early Semitic alphabet is one of several selections and groupings of signs used currently all round the Mediterranean, at the date of its emergence.
- (3) Fr. Praetorius, *Das kanaanäische und das südsemitische Alphabet*, in *ZDMG* (1909), vol. lxiii—points out that in some respects there is a closer resemblance between the Greek alphabet and the South Semitic alphabets than between the former and the early Canaanite alphabet. The conclusions drawn are (1) that we must look not merely to the letters of the early Canaanite alphabet in considering what the appearance of the earliest letters was, and (2) that the separation between the Canaanite and the South Semitic alphabets is so great as to require a date of origin several centuries before 1000 B.C.
- (4) A. H. Gardner, *Egyptian Origin of the Semitic Alphabet*, in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (1916), vol. iii. See below.
- (5) Kurt Sethe, *Ueber den Ursprung des Alphabets* (in *Nachrichten der Gesellsch. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1916) and *Die neuentdeckte Sinaischrift und die Entstehung der semitischen Schrift* (in *NGWG*, 1917). See below.

The chief problems considered were (1) the date of invention of the early Semitic alphabet, (2) the country of its origin, (3) the precedents which influenced the inventor or circle of inventors.

As the early Semitic alphabet appears first in Syria, Syria has a first claim to be regarded as the country of its origin.\* The use of cuneiform writing by the Canaanite princes of Palestine in their correspondence with Egypt in the period of the Tell Amarna letters (1400 B.C.) suggests that alphabetic writing was not yet established in Syria. Even so, however, it may have been invented before that date somewhere outside of Syria. If, then, the alphabet existed before 1400 B.C. (Praetorius), the possibility of the alphabet having been invented outside of Syria, although not far away, must be considered.


It is to be assumed that the inventor of the alphabet was acquainted with earlier systems of writing and was influenced by them. In Syria and in the adjoining countries between 1400 B.C., or earlier, and 1000 B.C., the chief systems with which the inventor might be acquainted were the cuneiform, the Egyptian, the Hittite and the Minoan. Our imperfect knowledge of the real nature of the Hittite and Minoan scripts prevents any decided conclusion regarding their influence on the origin of the alphabet. Of the other two, clearly the Egyptian was best fitted to prepare the way for its creation. As early as 3000 B.C. the Egyptians used a mixed system of writing in which true alphabetic signs were included. The conception of alphabetic signs (symbols representing simple sounds, such as p, t, k) was, therefore, already in existence, and, presumably, was learned from Egypt by the inventor of the Semitic alphabet. The great novelty and the immense simplification of his invention lay in the exclusive use of alphabetic signs in writing.

The most direct evidence we have regarding the work of the inventor of the alphabet and his procedure is to be found in the traditional names of the letters of the alphabet. These have a clear meaning in a considerable number of cases, and when this meaning is compared with the earliest forms of the letters, it is almost certain that in some cases at least the early sign was a picture of the object denoted by its name. Thus *'Ayin* (eye) had the form of a circle and *Tau* (mark) was a simple cross. It is most unlikely that these names were given to the letters after they had been in use for some time. Rather we have in them a clue to the inventor's procedure. He drew simple pictures of common objects (head, hand, water, fence), possibly already in some cases circulating as recognised

\* The earliest inscription in this character now known (1925) is that of Ahiram, king of Gebal (Byblos), found in 1923 and dated by the discoverer in the 13th century B.C. See René Dussaud's account of it in *Syria*, vol. v (1924).

conventions, and made each represent the sound which began the name of the object in his own language (r, y, m, etc.). This principle of construction, known as acrophonic, may also have been suggested by the Egyptian alphabetic signs already mentioned and thus may be a debt of secondary importance which the alphabet owes to Egypt.

A very striking feature in the early Semitic alphabet, and a serious defect, is its failure to represent vowels. Here again the influence of Egypt has been suggested as an explanation. The Egyptian alphabetic signs were consonants only. Besides, all words in the inventor's (Semitic) language began with consonants, so that vowel signs could not be constructed on the acrophonic principle. Still, neither the Egyptian precedent nor the difficulty of inventing signs for vowel sounds can be admitted to have prevented the introduction of vowel signs. The inventor must have decided against them for a stronger reason. An explanation given by the present writer (in the article *Alphabet* in the first edition of Harmsworth's *Encyclopedia*) may here be repeated. The use of consonants only was suited to the needs of a country inhabited by a group of peoples who spoke related languages or dialects, which employed the same consonantal frame for most words but differed in pronunciation of their vowels. The writing of consonants only, which were the common element, left it open to each reader to supply the vowels to which he was locally accustomed.

An entirely fresh turn was given to the discussion of the problems of the early Semitic alphabet by A. H. Gardner's article in 1916 (see above). He based his argument upon fragmentary inscriptions found by Flinders Petrie in Sinai in 1905. He assigns to them a date at least as early as 1500 B.C. and maintains that they are written in the earliest form of the Semitic alphabet. The inscriptions together contain about 150 letters, in which A.H.G. finds 32 different signs or letters. Assuming Egyptian influence he claims to have identified 11 of these. His great success is the reading of a group of four letters, several times repeated, as , i.e. Ba'alat. The first sign is one used by the Egyptians for "house," the second and fourth are just the early Semitic signs for the sounds assumed, and the sign for l is the early Semitic letter reversed.

Kurt Sethe's first article is important because of the authoritative information it gives regarding the history of Egyptian writing and also for the argument it presents in favour of the influence of Egypt upon the inventor of the early Semitic alphabet. In his second article K.S. accepts A.H.G.'s conclusions, treats the Sinai inscriptions as a transition between Egyptian writing and the alphabet of Syria, and attempts to show that the letters of the Semitic alphabet were not merely suggested by Egyptian precedents but were borrowed

from Egyptian characters. He confidently identifies what he holds to be the Egyptian originals of eight of the Semitic letters and suggests originals for as many as eighteen out of the total of twenty-two. In the Sinai inscriptions he still reads only the one word Ba'alat, with the addition, at most, of the preposition *l* and the definite article *l*.

It must be admitted that the reading of Ba'alat is very attractive and cannot be ignored. But until more of the Sinai inscriptions are actually translated or until similar inscriptions are found and translated, it cannot be assumed that a key to their understanding has been discovered and that in them the first form of the Semitic alphabet has been found. Indeed it seems to the present writer that Sethe's argument in favour of the *borrowing* of the Semitic signs from Egypt is both inconclusive and unnecessary. The weakest point in the identifications lies in this, that the alleged Egyptian originals meant something different in Egypt from what they mean in the Semitic alphabet (*e.g.* Egyptian *d* is supposed to have been transformed into Semitic *y* and Egyptian *r* into Semitic *p*). Even the objects denoted by the Egyptian signs do not always correspond to the Semitic names of the letters supposed to be derived from the Egyptian signs (*e.g.* *l*, the palm of the hand, is according to Sethe in Egyptian the representation of a plant). Thus the alleged borrowed signs were given new names and new values. But why, since they differ in these important respects, suppose that they were borrowed from Egypt at all? The Semitic signs may have been in part independent inventions, in part conventional representations already current elsewhere than in Egypt.

11th October, 1920.

This meeting was attended by 17 members and 2 visitors. Three papers were read: of two, abstracts are given: the third, entitled "Some Notes on the First Evangelist of Egypt," was contributed by the Rev. Colin Campbell, D.D.

#### LIGHT FROM THE MISHNAH ON THE EARLIER TEMPLE.

By MR. R. B. PATTIE, B.D.

It may be expected that the later Temple, which is described in Middoth, was in many features a close copy of the first; for—

(a) Zerubbabel's aim was to restore the old building on the old site; though in some points want of means compelled departure from the original plan, and in others the influence of Ezekiel's vision was felt; and

(b) Herod also aimed at restoration, with additions; and Middoth appears sometimes to ignore the Herodian innovations.

Thus Middoth may be used to supply some defects in the fragmentary account in 1 Kings, and also to clear up obscurities in Ezekiel's vision.

A. Middoth 4<sup>o</sup>, 1 Kings 6<sup>o</sup>, Ezekiel 41<sup>o</sup>.—According to Kings, the Holy Chambers were surrounded on two or three sides by יצוֹעַ and צִלְעוֹת; the two names are often supposed to refer to the same thing.

Ezekiel also mentions the צִלְעוֹת; but, as the text stands, does not use יצוֹעַ or any equivalent word.

Middoth described the צִלְעוֹת plainly, but under the name תַּאִים; and also a distinct passage, called מַסְבָּה.

An emendation brings Ezekiel and Middoth nearer. For וְרַחְבָּהּ is an impossible phrase; LXX suggests the reading וְרַחְבָּהּ, with a difference in spacing only. Again LXX appears to support כְּמוֹסָה for כִּי מוֹסֵב, so that the sense becomes "The breadth of the surrounding passage varied according to an addition on the inside."

It may be concluded either that the יצוֹעַ was a passage on which the צִלְעוֹת opened, so being the same as the מַסְבָּה in Ezekiel; or else that it included צַ and מַ. But the מַ of Middoth was a passage added *outside* of the צַ.

B. Middoth 3<sup>o</sup>, Ezekiel 41<sup>25, 26</sup>, 1 Kings 7<sup>o</sup>.—Middoth describes a structure over the entrance of the Temple Porch; but does not name it. Five beams of wood increasing in length upward, with stone between them; and cross-beams tying these to the back wall of the Porch. This construction has no classical analogies, and is no doubt imitated from the earlier Temple.

Ezekiel names an עֵץ עֵב in the same position, but without describing it: and עֵב occurs also in 1 Kings, in connection with a Porch. Surely the name and the description belong to each other.

In Ezekiel 41<sup>26</sup> the word וְהָעֵבִים seems to be the plural of עֵב. But the verse gives no good sense, and LXX points to a participle מוֹעֵבִים, with the same number of strokes. The meaning will be "made in the style of an עֵב." It remains doubtful whether this can be predicated of צִלְעוֹת.

No measures are given for Solomon's Courts. Ezekiel's measures are professedly inapplicable. Middoth gives a series of detailed measures, which are not symmetrical, and not in round numbers. An attempt was made in the paper to show how these measures could be derived from an earlier symmetrical system of round

numbers; this was done on the supposition that Solomon's cubit was of 7 palms. Further consideration does not confirm this view, and the following argument is substituted.

C. In 2 Chron. 4<sup>o</sup> it is said that Solomon made the Priests' Court and the great עֲזָרָה. In the Mishnah 'ע means "Court"; but here it is distinguished from עֲזָרָה, and Ezekiel uses it for "ledge." Now the Court of Israel, as described in Middoth, was "a great ledge," lower than the Priests' Court, and higher than that of the Women. Thus the Chronicler asserts that the arrangement of the Courts after the Exile was in principle the same as before.

It does not follow that the measures were unchanged. Middoth 3<sup>l</sup> declares that before the Exile the Altar was 28 c. square, and that afterwards 4 c. were added on the W. and S., making it 32 c. square. Thus enlarged, it was the centre of a minor symmetry, the 22 c. between it and the Temple being balanced by two measures of 11 c. to the E. To have a like symmetry when the Altar measured 28 c., the front of the "ledge" would require to be 4 c. farther East.

The 28 c. and 32 c. are properly measures of the base: the Altar itself was originally 20 c. square (2 Chron. 4<sup>l</sup>). This gives the figures 30, 20, 30.

The Court of the Women was not of equal sanctity: Middoth does not include it in summing up the length of "the whole Court" (5<sup>l</sup>). Yet it may be the same as "the new Court," in 2 Chron. 20<sup>o</sup>.

D. The *breadth* of the Courts, according to Middoth 5<sup>l</sup>, was 135 c.; but this does not seem to include the side walls. It is possible that the true breadth, in both Temples, was 140 c.: if the walls were only 2½ c. thick. The later Temple was a fortress, and its outer walls even more massive; but these were internal subdivisions.

Allowing for spaces behind the Temple, the whole area of Solomon's Courts may have been 200 c. by 140 c., in the proportion of 10 to 7.

The subject is not exhausted.

## NOTES ON MOSLEM TRADITIONS.

BY THE REV. RICHARD BELL, B.D.

In the collections of Moslem Tradition one finds material of all sorts. The Saḥīḥ of Muslim and that of Bukhārī consist of very much the same materials. But Muslim groups similar traditions together, while Bukhārī disposes them in different chapters according to the maxims of the Canon Law (Fiqh) which he regards them as supporting. Every tradition consists of an Isnad or chain of authorities who have transmitted it, and the Matn or text of the tradition itself. Slightly differing forms of the same tradition, but with variations in the Isnad, are recorded separately. Comparison of these shows



that considerable liberty was taken in the transmission of tradition; and the textual variations often show that traditions must have been written long before the standard collections were made.

Illustrations are found in the Kitāb at-Tauba of the following tendencies:

1. The ascription to the Prophet of sententious maxims from various sources, particularly the Old and New Testaments ("Verily God rejoices more over his servant's repentance, than one of you when he finds his stray animal in the wilderness.")
2. The elaboration of these in story form.
3. The relaxation of moral standard, dating probably from Omayyad times.
4. Insistence on the mercy of God ("God divided mercy into 100 parts of which he retained 99").
5. The desire to outbid Christianity in regard to God's readiness to forgive. (Story of the man who had killed 99 persons.)
6. Depreciation of Jews and Christians ("No Moslem dies, but God causes a Jew or a Christian to enter the fire in his stead").
7. Representation of the tolerant commonsense of the Prophet.
8. Historical Traditions (story of Ka'b b. Mālik and those who failed to accompany the Expedition to Tabūk, and story of the scandal concerning Ayesha).

*25th April and 10th October, 1921.*

Each of these meetings was attended by 20 members. To the April meeting fell the melancholy duty of recording the death both of the Founder and Honorary President of the Society and of the Rev. James Millar, B.D., one of its honorary members. The Society's Minute paid a warm tribute to Dr. Robertson's ability, enthusiasm and scholarship, to the rare charm of his personality, and to the Society's abiding sense of indebtedness to one whose memory will always be cherished. Congratulations were conveyed to Prof. Stevenson on receiving the degree of D.D. from the University of Edinburgh; to Dr. Edward Robertson, on his appointment to the Chair of Semitic Languages in University College, Bangor; and to the Rev. Richard Bell, B.D., on his appointment to the Lectureship in Arabic in the University

of Edinburgh. The October meeting learned with pleasure of the foundation of the McLean Memorial Scholarship in Semitic Languages and of the acceptance by the University of Glasgow of Emeritus-Professor Robertson's Semitic and Oriental books, to which members of the Society will have special access.

Both meetings were devoted to the consideration of the articles in *Studia Semitica et Orientalia* [Appendix I., p. 88]. The article which chiefly evoked discussion was Prof. D. B. MacDonald's "The Pre-Abrahamic Stories of Genesis, as a Part of the Wisdom Literature," and critical papers were contributed by Prof. J. E. McFadyen, D.D., and the Rev. Robert F. Chisholm, B.D.

### THE PRE-ABRAHAMIC STORIES OF GENESIS AS WISDOM LITERATURE.

BY PROFESSOR J. E. MCFADYEN, D.D.

Professor McFadyen's paper was afterwards expanded and published in the *Hibbert Journal* (July, 1921) under the title "Civilisation Criticised at the Source." In its developed form it is essentially a discussion of the socio-ethical implications of Genesis 1-11, and is an attempt to show that in the Jahwist stratum of that section, as in Amos, we have a shepherd's criticism of civilisation.

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BY THE REV. ROBERT F. CHISHOLM, B.D.

Accepting the view generally held, that the source J has been fitted into the framework of P by a Redactor (R), the two main questions I wish to answer are:—

1. How much of Genesis 1-11 can be attributed to the Redactor (R) ?
2. Can these chapters be looked upon as part of the Wisdom Literature ?

In such literature we must distinguish between the views of a writer and the implications of his material. In the Flood Story J had probably before him the story of the sons of God and the daughters of men; God is angry and troubled: "it grieved him at the heart." Other material at his disposal would be the command to make the ark, particulars as to its dimensions, details as to the animals to be

taken in, the shutting of the door, the duration of the flood, the sending forth of the birds, the drying up of the earth, the sacrifice of which Jehovah "smelled the sweet savour." This, we may say, was J's material. In P, instead of the graphic and poetic touches of J, we find a stereotyped, measured and prosaic narrative with dates fully given. We do not find anthropomorphisms, as in J. Shall we then say that J added these to his material? May it not just as easily be held that P worked over similar material, but regarded the details about a God who shuts doors, smells sacrifices and is jealous, as unsuitable, from his point of view, and therefore deleted them? We need not hold that J introduced the ideas of the Lord's "walking in the garden," "making coats of skins," "driving out the man," "coming down to inspect the tower." It is rather the source upon which he worked that contributed this phraseology. With similar material P erected a very different structure. His interest is chiefly in facts related to the institution of the Sabbath and to the Covenant-making God. Being interested in ritual, he does not introduce the distinction between clean and unclean animals before the time of Moses. J brings into the ark clean animals by sevens and unclean animals by twos. P has two and two of all flesh. Where, in 7<sup>7-9</sup>, we have clean and unclean animals going in two by two, the accounts of J and P seem to be combined by R. Dr. MacDonald says that in the later stories there is not so much recasting; the Redactor has lost "energy and interest as he neared the end" (the story of the Tower of Babel is an "untouched piece of folk-lore"). But we cannot thus easily dismiss the influence of the Redactor, if we hold that his influence has been so apparent in earlier chapters. Should we not rather say that most of the material of these stories was already determined and given to R, and that his principal work is a fitting of them together? If the stories had been recast and retold by one man (R), we should expect more similarity, and existing differences would have been merged.

If then elements in these early stories are to be ranked as Wisdom Literature, they are not due to R but to J and P. The instances of Philosophy brought before us by Dr. MacDonald belong to J, with three exceptions—the first creation story, the incident of the rainbow (where the "naive mythological picture" is retained), and the divisions of the world as given in 10<sup>6</sup>. If, therefore, the views of these early chapters are worthy of a place in the category of Wisdom Literature, it is chiefly J who is the thinker or Hokhmah-writer. His admission to this group of writers depends on the limits we assign to such literature and the characteristics we look for. A general feature of the Wisdom Literature is that it moves on a broad plane, and, being only slightly national, treats of universal elements in morality and religion (cf. Ben Sira 39<sup>1-11</sup>). These early chapters in

Genesis seem, however, to have been written in answer to simple questionings, and it is doubtful whether we are free to attribute to their writers the interpretations now read into the chapters. Job, Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, where the aim of the writers is much more evident, stand at least on a higher plane of thought, and belong to a later stage of intellectual and religious development.

10th April, 1922.

This meeting was attended by 21 members. It was agreed that Principal Sir Donald MacAlister, K.C.B., should be invited to become Honorary President of the Society. Two papers, of which abstracts follow, were read, and the Rev. A. R. Mackenzie, B.D., exhibited specimens of Chinese Script and Posters.

### THE LAW OF RETALIATION IN THE EAST.

BY THE REV. ROBERT BURNETT, B.D.

Nothing shows more strikingly the "Unchanging East" than the persistence of the law of retaliation.

At the dawn of recorded history in the East it is already a recognised, settled custom, deeply rooted in the social habits of peoples. The Mosaic law, *e.g.*, simply accepts ancient usage in the decree of "life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, etc." (Ex. 21). Precisely similar provisions are found in the Code of Hammurabi. The Quran in its day is equally explicit. And modern sentiment and practice entirely agree. "There is hardly a village in Palestine, no matter how tiny, but has blood between families."

The writer, stationed in the Arabian desert, early in 1920, followed with great interest the investigation in Court of an extraordinary case of blood feud between two villages, Hamidat and Ashraf, near Keneh in Upper Egypt, which was fully reported in the Egyptian newspapers daily. About a score of people were killed on each side, besides many wounded: 127 houses were burned down in Hamidat; cattle, cereals, household goods, money, jewellery were carried off. It came out that the feud was at least 150 years old, having arisen over a Hamidat dog having bitten an Ashraf man that he died. But there was evidently previous bad blood between the villages, otherwise the dog incident might have been settled by a payment of money or goods as "blood gratification." But Ashraf must needs retaliate and require blood for blood. And in due time Hamidat must also retaliate—with the sacrifice of more lives. The feud was handed on from father to son or grandson, always breaking out afresh. Many

efforts had been made by local rulers to patch up the feud and reconcile the villagers, but only with temporary success. Each new outbreak provided a fresh cause for Thâr, that law of retaliation which required that no murdered man shall remain unavenged. The latest outburst has simply provoked a new Thâr, which, with the sanction of the Quran and immemorial usage, will in due course lead to another outbreak, when the condemned men return from their 10 years' penal servitude to freedom and home.

Although the Mosaic law accepted the ancient settled custom and required the death of the manslayer, it differentiated between deliberate murder and unintentional or accidental manslaughter, and by humane enactments sought to mitigate the severity of popular usage, in favour of any one "who killed his neighbour and hated him not in time past" (Deut. 19).

Hence the *Cities of Refuge*, to provide means of escape for those "innocent of blood"; but even these provided no refuge for the deliberate slayer,—“He shall surely be put to death”—although he had the advantage of trial.

The chief figure in all these transactions was the *avenger of blood*, the Goël of numerous O.T. references, that particular kinsman whose duty it was to restore the violated family integrity, who had to redeem land alienated from the family, or a member of the family who had fallen into slavery, and also the blood of a slain relative, for which he had to secure an equivalent by other blood or by agreed payment for its value. He was not so much an avenger as a redeemer, restorer, balancer; his mission was rather equity than vengeance.

All through the East are regularly fixed tariffs for blood cancelling, according to age, rank, sex,—freeman or slave,—differences recognised also in Mosaic standards of ransom. The prohibition of Num. 35<sup>21</sup> would seem to be a limitation of the privileges of the Goël as before understood in the East. The Quran formally authorises settlement of manslaughter damages by proper payments.

There are always instances, however, in which all money payment for blood is scorned and refused, where passion for revenge is stronger than avarice—the two pet passions of the Arab. And naturally the "passion for revenge" has led to devices for countering and thwarting it. Families, tribes, or villages form *confederacies* for mutual protection and to enable them to retaliate injuries. The parties are bound to stand by each other, to join in all quarrels, shelter each other when fleeing from the law or enemies, and bear their proportion of fine incurred by any violation of property or injury to person. Especially must they assist in cases of manslaughter or murder, concealing or furthering the escape of the slayer, standing by his family against massacre, and endeavouring

to secure compromise by ransom for the blood shed. These alliances may be condemned as immoral, and making impossible the execution of law. But the custom of blood revenge is too deeply rooted to be under the control of rulers or magistrates. The law is unable to protect those involved: they must take means to protect themselves. There are now no cities of refuge, no sanctuaries to which the manslayer, fleeing for his life, may escape, even when "innocent of blood." These confederacies may occasionally enable a villain to escape the just penalty of his misdeeds, but they do provide a refuge in emergencies, and a useful check to the murderous designs of avengers, and they do prevent the starting of fresh blood feuds, with all their illimitable consequences.

Even the strongest confederacy, however, is not always proof against the passion for revenge. The revengeful Arab does not forget or forgive an injury; and the manslayer cannot have the protection of this confederacy everywhere he goes. Woe to him, if lapse of time begets confidence. Rarely will the slayer escape the vengeance that scorns ransom and steadily pursues for blood.

What could be more truly characteristic of the East than the story of the Aduany's revenge on Muhammad El-Rachidi, related in Baldensperger's *Immovable East*.

### THE COVENANT IN THE PSALTER.

BY THE REV. DUNCAN CAMERON, B.D.

The writer gave in his report as a member of the Psalter Group in April, 1915, and a summary of the paper read to the Society at that time is printed on pp. 27-29. In this paper the topic was more fully discussed. The chief contention was that one of the leading features of the piety that finds expression in the Psalter is hope in the covenant promises. The Davidic covenant in 2 Samuel 7 was specially in the minds of the psalmists. A detailed study of the meaning of the word בְּרִית followed. The paper now forms the second chapter of *Songs of Sorrow and Praise* (T. and T. Clark, 1924).

9th October, 1922.

At this meeting 22 members were present, including Principal Sir Donald MacAlister, K.C.B., who had agreed to become Honorary President of the Society. The Rev. W. M. Christie was congratulated on receiving the degree of D.D. from the University of Glasgow. The Society agreed to request the University Court to become a subscriber to the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem (to which the

first holder of the Maclean Scholarship was about to proceed), and resolved to offer a contribution of £5 towards the annual subscription of £20, for this year only. The Recording Secretary reported that estimates for the publication of the Society's *Transactions* had been obtained more than once, but that the cost was still in excess of the funds available. The matter was remitted to the further diligence of the Committee. Two papers were read: an abstract of the first follows: the second, "An Afghan Tragedy, 1919," was contributed by the Rev. E. J. Harris, B.D.

### THE OLD ISLAM AND THE NEW.

BY THE REV. JOHN MACGILCHRIST, D.D.

Cradled in Arabia, amongst a people simple and nomadic, yet alert and artistic, and, withal, yearning for better things, Islam spread, once it got over the initial difficulties, with amazing rapidity—overthrowing two great Empires at least, and setting up a powerful Empire of its own. Mohammed, its founder, owed much to Christian and Jewish influences; he also incorporated into his religion certain animistic beliefs taken from the primitive Arab religion, as also certain rites of pilgrimage, which he found in vogue. He thus nationalised and popularised Islam amongst the Arabs. Islam, accordingly, became the national religion of the Arabs, and its task now was one of reducing all mankind under its sway. The death of Mohammed resulted in disruption and civil war, but under able Caliphs, like Omar, the Empire was once more consolidated and extended, until it stretched from the Pyrenees to the Himalayas. One of the results of the inter-marriage of conquerors and conquered was the rise of Saracenic civilisation. The old culture was rejuvenated by the infusion into it of Arab vigour and freshness. For 3½ centuries, from 650 to 1000 A.D., Islam was the most civilised and progressive portion of the world. Gradually, however, decline set in, and the Moslem Empire was threatened not only with political, but also with doctrinal disruption. The creed of the Arab conquerors was an extremely simple one: "There is no god but Allah, and Mohammed is his prophet." It also enjoined certain duties, such as prayer, ablutions and fasting, in addition to almsgiving and pilgrimage. As time passed, schools of Theology arose, and Traditionalism and Rationalism fought for the mastery. Victory, in the main, inclined to the former, and by the end of the 12th century Saracenic liberalism had practically disappeared.

As Moslem power declined, the Turks—a Turanian people from the Steppes of Central Asia—appeared upon the scene. Dull and

slow-minded, but with fighting qualities of a high order, the Moslem Caliphs found them very useful as mercenary soldiers. By and by, the Turks renounced their primitive Paganism and adopted Islam. Seizing the hegemony of Islam, they captured Jerusalem in 1076, and overran Asia Minor. Later still, in 1453, they took Constantinople, and became the terror of Europe, as they had formerly been the terror of Asia. In 1683, however, they were beaten under the walls of Vienna, and the Turkish Empire, in its turn, began to go to pieces. This was due largely to the discovery of America and the highway across the ocean, which turned the flank of the hitherto victorious Turks, and threw immense resources into the opposite scale of Western civilisation. The 19th century found the Moslem World beginning to waken up out of its long sleep under repeated blows from the West, now reinforced by its Industrial Revolution and its scientific discoveries. It witnessed, moreover, a division of the Moslem states among the European Powers—a process of disintegration apparently completed by the Peace of Versailles.

But a great change has been coming over the Moslem World during the last hundred years. The “immovable” East is being profoundly moved by Western aggression and by the infiltration of new ideas, social, political and economic. The 250 million followers of the Prophet are being stirred to new impulses and new aspirations, and the new Islam is coming into being before our very eyes. Some of the forces that are moulding it fall now to be mentioned.

Moslems themselves, conscious of the defects of their religion, have attempted to reform it along the three lines of Mysticism, Puritanism and Syncretism. Under the first of these the outstanding figure is Al Ghazali. Reverting to the fundamental principles of Islam, he aimed at interpreting creed and ritual on spiritual lines. He died in 1111 A.D., and his efforts to spiritualise Islam bore no permanent fruit. What Al Ghazali failed to do with the pen, Abdul Wahab, born 1691, tried to effect with the sword, as a Puritan reformer in the face of the prevailing corruption. He too reverted to the original Islam, and founded by force of arms the Wahabi state, which soon declined from the high ideals of its founder. The Wahabi Reformation has been compared, with some show of reason, to the Lutheran, but it also differed widely in that it did not allow for free thought and a progressive civilisation. It was distinctly reactionary. As interesting products of the Wahabi movement may be mentioned the Moslem brotherhoods, and that influential fraternity—the Senoussi dervishes—having its headquarters in the African deserts, but with ramifications all over Islam.

A third attempt to save Islam was made along the lines of Syncretism by introducing into it Christian ethics, and by proclaiming new religious leaders—Mahdis or Messiahs—who were supposed to be



inspired by God to be successors of Mohammed. Attempts like these on the part of Moslems are surely signals of distress *from within*.

Lord Cromer, in his *Modern Egypt*, has laid it down that "Islam cannot be reformed; that is to say, reformed Islam is Islam no longer: it is something else: we cannot as yet tell what it will eventually be." . . . "A revival of Islam—that is to say, the Islam of the Koran and the Traditions—is nothing but the dream of poetic natures." But Lord Cromer himself adds: "It is conceivable that as time goes on, the Moslems will develop a religion, probably a pure Deism, which will not be altogether the Islamism of the past and of the present, and which will cast aside much of the teaching of Mohammed."

Additional forces moulding the new Islam are these three: Pan-Islamism, Nationalism and Bolshevism.

Pan-Islamism is as old as the Prophet, who taught the solidarity of all "True Believers." This solidarity is strengthened by two great institutions: (a) The Hajj or pilgrimage to Mecca, which is a perennial Pan-Islamic congress, and (b) the Caliphate, which is still deeply venerated by all Moslems. The main object of that great fraternity—the "Senoussiya"—would seem to be the welding of all Moslem Africa, and indeed Moslems everywhere, into a great Pan-Islamic League, which receives further impetus from every fresh act of Western aggression.

Another great dynamic force moulding the future of Islam is "Nationalism," exemplified, *e.g.*, in such movements as the "Young Turk" and the "Young Egyptian," and more recently in the Angora "Rebellion" of Mustapha Kemal. Islam from the Prophet's day has naturally been hostile to "Nationalism," as he taught the brotherhood of all "True Believers," but the pressure of Western aggression has resulted not only in "national" stirrings, but in that strange compound called "Pan-Islamic Nationalism."

A third force helping to shape the future of Islam in these days is Bolshevism, whose sinister influence, underground plottings and active propaganda are at work everywhere in the Near and Middle East. Its present alliance with Angora is a significant portent.

Such indicates briefly something of that tremendous ferment into which the world of Islam—inactive and unprogressive for about 1000 years—is now plunged. The "immovable" East is now once more on the move. Whither, we cannot as yet tell. The changes that are taking place in Moslem thought, and, especially, the increasing emancipation of womanhood, with all that that means for the Moslem boys and girls formerly reared and trained in the harems, are bound to have far-reaching results. The "New Islam" is being born even now—religious, political, social and economic. The Moslem world is in a state of transformation, and the end is not yet. If the development is along peaceful and progressive lines, we may yet see the East taking its place worthily in a reconstructed world.

## APPENDIX I.

### "STUDIA SEMITICA ET ORIENTALIA."\*

#### TABLE OF CONTENTS.

- A STUDY IN HEBREW SYNONYMS. James Robertson Buchanan.  
TELL HUN THE SITE OF CAPERNAUM. William Melville Christie.  
JEWISH EVERYDAY LIFE, AS REFLECTED IN THE MISHNAH TREATISE  
SHABBATH. Archibald Robert Stirling Kennedy.  
THE SYNCHRONISMS OF THE HEBREW BOOK OF KINGS. Robert Burnet  
Pattie.  
TRANSLATION OF AN ARABIC MS. ON CALLIGRAPHY. Edward Robertson.  
SOME SPECIMENS OF MOSLEM CHARMS. William Baiton Stevenson.  
THE PRE-ABRAHAMIC STORIES OF GENESIS, AS A PART OF THE WISDOM  
LITERATURE. Duncan Black Macdonald.

#### APPENDIX.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE PUBLISHED WRITINGS OF THE REV. PROFESSOR  
JAMES ROBERTSON, D.D., LL.D.

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\* Copies may be obtained from the publishers (MacLehose, Jackson and Co., Glasgow) or from the Secretary of the Society, price 7/6 net, 8/- to members of the Society.

## APPENDIX II.

## LIST OF MEMBERS AS AT 31st DECEMBER, 1922.

NAME.	YEAR OF ELECTION.
*Professor James Robertson, D.D., LL.D.,	1880
*James Arthur, B.D.,	"
Robert B. Pattie, B.D.,	"
*William Kean, D.D.,	"
**Peter Donaldson, B.D.,	1881
James Young, B.D.,	"
**James E. Houston, B.D.,	"
****A. Cameron Watson, B.D.,	"
**Alex. Stewart, D.D.,	"
Professor A. R. S. Kennedy, D.D.,	1882
**James Lindsay, D.D.,	"
**Wm. Grant Duncan, B.D.,	"
**John Taylor,	"
*George Anderson, D.D.,	1883
*Chas. S. M'Alpine, B.D.,	"
*Professor John Dobie, B.D.,	"
**D. G. Manuel, B.D.,	"
**W. G. M'Laren,	"
*James Millar, B.D.,	"
*Patrick H. Aitken, B.D., B.Sc., D.Litt.,	"
Morison Bryce,	1884
Hugh Duncan, B.D.,	"
**James M. Hamilton, B.D.,	"
Robert Morris, M.A.,	"
*James Ingram, B.D.,	1885
***R. M'Cheyne Paterson, B.D.,	"
**John W. Henderson, B.D.,	"
**John W. Jack,	"
*Robert Cumming, B.D.,	"
**Geo. S. Kerr, B.D.,	"
**Archibald Jamieson, M.A.,	"
**Thos. E. S. Clarke, B.D.,	"
**E. P. Philips,	"
**William Muirhead, M.A.,	1886
***Professor D. B. MacDonald, D.D.,	1887
**James Craig, B.D.,	"
Thos. H. Weir, B.D.,	"
David Frew, D.D.,	"
*E. J. W. Gibb, M.B.A.S.,	"
John Smith, D.D.,	"
Andrew Baird, B.D.,	1888
Robert Gardner, B.D.,	"
**Robert Jack, B.D.,	"
***Robert Kilgour, D.D.,	"
*Daniel Kirkwood, B.D.,	"
*Wm. MacGill, B.D.,	"
**Jas. Cromarty Smith, B.D.,	1889
*John Wilson, Ph.D.,	"
**John Campbell, B.D.,	1890
**Peter Adam, B.D.,	"

\* Deceased.

\*\* Ceased to be a Member.

\*\*\*\* Honorary Member.

\*\*\* Corresponding Member.

NAME	YEAR OF ELECTION.
**Wm. M'Kean Campbell, B.D.,	1890
**Hugh Armstrong, B.D.,	"
Duncan H. Brodie, B.D.,	1891
**William Howie, B.D.,	1892
**Jas. W. M'Donald, B.D.,	"
Ewen M. M'Gregor, M.A.,	"
*Peter Melville, B.D.,	"
William Richmond Scott,	"
*Gavin Greenlees,	1893
*David R. Alexander, B.D.,	"
Robert Burnett, B.D.,	1894
Francis G. Geddes, B.D.,	"
**Alexander Gibson, B.D.,	"
**John Mack, B.D.,	"
John MacGilchrist, D.D.,	"
**David S. Merrow, B.D.,	"
*John H. Pagan, B.D.,	"
**John C. M'Naught, B.D.,	1895
**William Swan, B.D.,	1896
***John H. H. M'Neil, B.D.,	"
**W. J. S. Miller, B.D.,	1898
John W. Murray, B.A. (Oxon.),	"
**John M'A. Dickie, B.D.,	1899
J. E. H. Thomson, D.D.,	"
William Ewing, D.D.,	1900
**Hugh Y. Arnott, B.D.,	"
***Andrew MacFarlane, D.S.O., B.D.,	"
Robert Aitken, B.D.,	"
**James W. Baird, B.D.,	"
William W. Fulton, B.D.,	"
**George Condie, B.D.,	1901
Professor William Fulton, B.Sc., D.D.,	"
John Muir, B.D.,	"
***T. G. Pinches, LL.D.,	"
***William Rollo, M.A.,	1902
William Brownlee, B.D.,	"
**A. Boyd Scott, B.D.,	"
**R. Montgomerie Hardie, B.D.,	"
Thos. Low, B.D.,	"
*John Cameron, B.D.,	"
*Daniel M'Lean, B.D.,	1903
***Robt. B. Douglas, B.D.,	"
**John T. Arnott, B.D.,	"
**Norman R. Mitchell, B.D.,	"
W. Marshall Tait, B.D.,	"
***Alex. H. Harley, M.A.,	"
**John M'Ara, B.D.,	"
***D. H. Gillan, B.D.,	"
Jas. Robertson Buchanan, B.D.,	1904
**Wm. W. Monteith, B.D.,	"
George Muir, B.D.,	"
**Brodie S. Gilfillan, B.D.,	"
Wm. M. Christie, D.D.,	"
**Jas. C. M. Fairlie, B.D.,	1905
**John S. Robertson, B.D.,	"
**John A. G. Thomson, B.D.,	1906

\* Deceased.

\*\* Ceased to be a Member.

\*\*\* Corresponding Member.

\*\*\*\* Honorary Member.

NAME.	YEAR OF ELECTION.
*Robt. C. Thomson, B.D., - - - - -	1906
***Samuel F. Hunter, M.A., - - - - -	1907
Alex. Moffatt, B.D., - - - - -	"
J. M. Woodburn, B.D., - - - - -	"
Professor Wm. B. Stevenson, D.Litt., D.D., - - - - -	1908
Louis C. Philipps, B.D., - - - - -	"
Professor And. C. Baird, B.Sc., B.D., - - - - -	"
A. P. S. Tulloch, B.D., - - - - -	1909
***D. F. Roberts, B.D., - - - - -	"
Duncan Cameron, B.D., - - - - -	1910
**Alex. S. Fulton, M.A., - - - - -	"
**Captain Lyons, F.R.S., D.Sc., - - - - -	"
Richard Bell, B.D., - - - - -	1911
**Alex. Anderson, B.D., - - - - -	"
Professor J. E. M'Fadyen, D.D., - - - - -	1912
*Thos. F. H. Graham, B.D., - - - - -	"
*David Forsyth, B.A., B.D., - - - - -	"
James P. Wilson, B.D., - - - - -	1913
*John Pinkerton, B.A. (Cantab.), B.D., - - - - -	"
**Edward Robertson, B.D., D.Litt., - - - - -	1914
Charles J. Ritchie, M.A., - - - - -	"
*Robert Stevenson, B.D., - - - - -	1915
Archibald Hunter, B.D., - - - - -	1916
Colin Campbell, D.D., - - - - -	1917
***William Samson, B.D., - - - - -	"
Robert F. Chisholm, B.D., - - - - -	1920
Professor James Gilroy, D.D., - - - - -	1921
Edward J. Harris, B.D., - - - - -	"
Henry Farmer, M.R.A.S., - - - - -	"
**Alexander R. Mackenzie, B.D., - - - - -	1922
****Principal Sir Donald MacAlister, K.C.B., - - - - -	"
William Deans, - - - - -	"
***James Robson, M.A., - - - - -	"
* Deceased.	
** Ceased to be a Member.	
**** Honorary Member.	
*** Corresponding Member.	

## APPENDIX III.

## EXTRACTS FROM CONSTITUTION AND BYE-LAWS.

"The Object of the Society shall be the Study of the Languages, Literature, and Histories of the East."

"The Stated Meetings of the Society shall be held in Glasgow twice a year."  
[The present dates are a Monday in April other than Easter Monday and the first Monday of October.]

"The Society shall be composed of such Students of Oriental Languages as shall be duly elected."

"The Society may elect as Corresponding Members such persons permanently resident abroad" [now interpreted to mean "furth of Scotland"] "as may be willing to contribute to the proceedings of the Society."

"Names of persons proposed for election shall be submitted to the Committee of Management at least two months before the ensuing Stated Meeting of the Society, and such names shall be inserted in the programme of business for that Meeting."

"Each Ordinary Member shall pay an Annual Subscription, the amount of which shall be fixed from time to time by the Committee of Management." [The amount at present is five shillings.] Corresponding Members are asked to pay an Annual Subscription of two shillings and sixpence.

## APPENDIX IV.

### OFFICE-BEARERS AND COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT, 1922.

PRINCIPAL SIR DONALD MACALISTER, K.C.B., Honorary President.

PROF. STEVENSON, D.Litt., D.D., President.

R. B. PATTIE, B.D., Vice-President.

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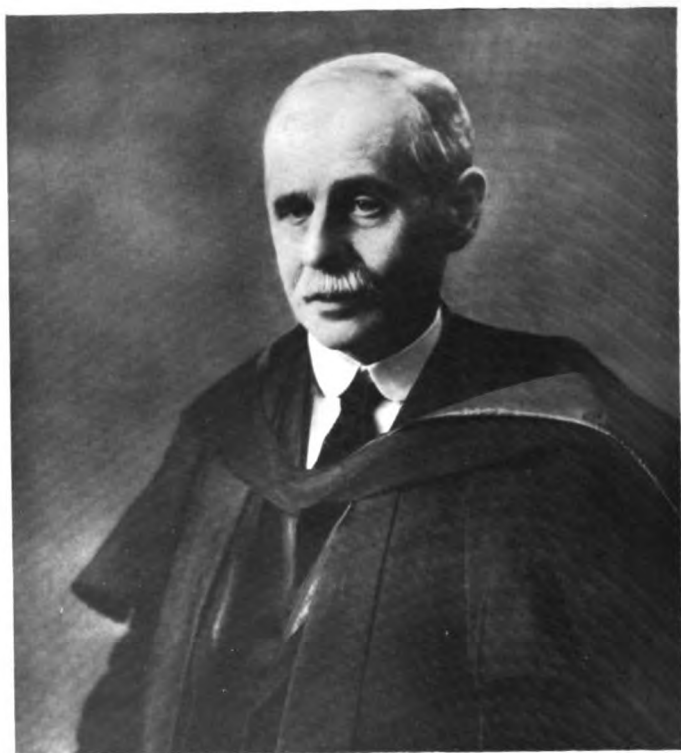












*yours faithfully*

T. H. Wen

*Glasgow University Oriental Society*

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# Transactions

*Volume V*

Years 1923 to 1928

Edited by

The Rev. Frederick A. Steuart, B.D.

Recording Secretary



Glasgow

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# CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION, . . . . .	1
By The Rev. Frederick A. Steuart, B.D., <i>Editor</i> .	
THE FIRST THREE YEARS OF THE LIFE OF THE SOCIETY, . . .	4
By Robert Burnet Pattie, B.D.	
THE MUSNAD OF 'UMAR IBN ABDI'L AZIZ, . . . . .	7
By Principal A. H. Harley, M.A.	
ADEN AND ITS PEOPLE, . . . . .	7
By The Rev. James Robson, M.A.	
BABYLONIAN NUMBER SYSTEMS AND THE ORIGIN OF THE CALENDAR,	9
By The Rev. Professor Andrew C. Baird, B.Sc., D.D.	
A NEWLY DISCOVERED ACCOUNT OF THE FALL OF NINEVEH, . .	14
By The Rev. Professor W. B. Stevenson, D.Litt., D.D.	
THE STORY OF JOSEPH IN THE SEPTUAGINT, . . . . .	16
By The Rev. J. P. Wilson, B.D.	
RECENT VIEWS REGARDING THE DATE OF THE EXODUS, . . .	17
By The Rev. Professor W. B. Stevenson, D.Litt., D.D.	
AN ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPT IN THE HUNTERIAN MUSEUM, . . .	19
By The Rev. Alexander Moffatt, B.D.	
THE BIBLE IN MARATHI, . . . . .	23
By The Rev. Robert B. Douglas, B.D.	
HEBREW AND ARABIC : SIMILARITIES IN THOUGHT AND GRAMMAR,	24
By Professor A. S. Tritton, M.A., D.Litt.	
ARAMAIC INFLUENCE IN THE NEW TESTAMENT, WITH SPECIAL REFER-	
ENCE TO THE FOURTH GOSPEL, . . . . .	25
By The Rev. Robert F. Chisholm, B.D.	
THE EVOLUTION OF THE TANBUR OR PANDORE, . . . . .	26
By Henry George Farmer, M.A., Ph.D.	
DEUTERONOMY : THE POST-EXILIC THEORY, . . . . .	29
By The Rev. E. J. Harris, B.D.	
THE HOLD (1 SAM. XXII, 4, ETC.) . . . . .	30
By The Rev. David Stiven, M.C., B.D.	
REPORT ON THE INAUGURATION OF THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF	
JERUSALEM, . . . . .	32
By The Rev. W. M. Christie, D.D.	
SURVEY OF ORIENTAL STUDIES.—I. <i>The Harvard Theological Review</i> ,	34
By The Rev. Hugh Duncan, B.D.	

	PAGE
JEREMIAH AS PATRIOT AND STATESMAN, . . . . .	35
By The Rev. Professor James Gilroy, D.D.	
KUŞR BINT EL-MELEK, . . . . .	36
By The Rev. W. M. Christie, D.D.	
THE FINDING OF THE GALILEE SKULL, . . . . .	37
By The Rev. Thomas Crouther Gordon, D.F.C., B.D.	
THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ARCHAEOLOGY, BEYROUT AND JERUSALEM, APRIL 1926, . . . . .	40
By The Rev. Professor A. R. S. Kennedy, D.D.	
SURVEY OF ORIENTAL STUDIES.—II. <i>Der Islam</i> , 1920-1926, . . . . .	42
By The Rev. Richard Bell, D.D.	
NOTE ON THE ORIGIN OF THE ARABIC NUMERALS, . . . . .	43
By The Rev. Robert Morris, M.A.	
RABBINICAL BIBLES IN THE LIBRARY OF GLASGOW UNIVERSITY, . . . . .	44
By The Rev. Professor W. B. Stevenson, D.Litt., D.D.	
A NOTE ON POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS IN CHINA, 1927 . . . . .	52
By The Late Rev. Alexander R. MacKenzie, M.A.	
PRESENT CONDITION OF REINHARD DOZY'S RESEARCHES ON SPANISH HISTORY, . . . . .	57
By Professor William J. Entwistle, M.A.	
NOTE ON SLIDES ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE DISCOVERIES AT UR. . . . .	59
By The Rev. Professor W. B. Stevenson, D.Litt., D.D.	
NOTE ON THE HENRI BOURGEOIS COLLECTION OF BOOKS, . . . . .	59
By The Rev. Professor W. B. Stevenson, D.Litt., D.D.	
THE K'AI FUNG FU SYNAGOGUE TABLET, . . . . .	60
By Professor William J. Entwistle, M.A.	
SOME ARAB SAINTS, . . . . .	62
By The Rev. James Robson, M.A.	
YIDDISH (WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO H. BOURGEOIS, "PETITE GRAMMAIRE JUDÉO-ALLEMANDE," PARIS, 1913), . . . . .	65
By Professor Herbert Smith, M.A., Ph.D.	
APPENDIX I.—MEMORIAL MINUTES, DR. JAMES YOUNG AND DR. THOMAS H. WEIR . . . . .	70
APPENDIX II.—LIST OF MEMBERS, OBITUARY, OFFICE-BEARERS . . . . .	71
APPENDIX III.—EXTRACTS FROM THE CONSTITUTION AND BYE- LAWS, . . . . .	73
GENERAL INDEX . . . . .	74
INDEX OF GREEK WORDS . . . . .	78
INDEX OF HEBREW WORDS . . . . .	78



# TRANSACTIONS OF THE GLASGOW UNIVERSITY ORIENTAL SOCIETY

## INTRODUCTION

BY THE REV. FREDERICK A. STEUART, B.D., *Editor*.

THIS fifth volume of *Transactions* published by the Oriental Society of the University of Glasgow, covers the work of the years 1923 to 1928 inclusively. It is, therefore, already almost a year overdue, and for such delay it is usual to offer apology if not excuse. Yet he who remembers the continued high cost of all that appertains to printing and publication can, I trust, hardly require apology from a private Society that has access to no funds other than those raised among its own members if it decided to delay publication until the natural inflow of subscriptions made special financial effort unnecessary.

The present volume, though it bears the number "five" is really but fourth in the series of published "Transactions" properly so called. Volume I which appeared in 1901 is in point of fact a history of the Society up to that date, and it was not until Volume II appeared in 1907<sup>1</sup> that the actual printing and publication of papers read to the Society was first attempted. Volumes III and IV, which followed in 1913 and 1926 respectively are, like Volume II, chiefly made up of abstracts of papers read to the Society during their respective periods, and they developed the line of policy in reporting that has been generally followed in the preparation of the present Volume. Generally, but not altogether; in the present publication it has been found possible to make extended use of the precedent of printing certain papers in a form that approximates to the complete, in the hope of serving the interests of Members best thereby, and of giving the greatest possible value to these *Transactions* for that wider circle of Students of Oriental matters to which they are offered. In some cases, as formerly, a paper given in short abstract here has appeared elsewhere, possibly *in extenso* or even in expanded form, and is readily accessible in that other publication. The necessary references will be found in or appended to

<sup>1</sup> Those interested are reminded of the *Megillah* or *Flying Roll*, the manuscript magazine of the Society, which, while not strictly a record of Transactions, yet recorded the work of members. It appeared irregularly between 1893 and 1913. For contents see *Transactions*, Vol. III., Appendix I. The magazine lies in the University Library.

such abstracts. The abstracts themselves have in the majority of cases been prepared by the writers of the original papers, but where such "first hand" abstracts were not available, others at "second hand" were prepared by Professor Stevenson, or by myself as Editor.

And the reader will notice other differences between report and report besides those of mere length and of subject matter. There are differences of expression and there are notably differences in the manner of transliterating Semitic and other Oriental names for reproduction in English. The Editor felt a real temptation to venture upon something like a systematisation in the latter sphere; but the Society has adopted no standard for such transliterations<sup>1</sup> (as, for example, another Society has done for the transliteration of Greek names) and ultimately it appeared best to leave transliterations and all other such points as the individual writers had made them.

The Society was formed in 1880; it therefore accomplishes its Jubilee this year, and though the present volume closes quite rigorously at the end of 1928 it is impossible to forget that it will appear in the Jubilee year. In recognition of the occasion, Mr. Pattie,<sup>2</sup> now sole survivor of the original four founders of the Society and continuously its Vice-President since 1881, was asked to contribute a specially written article on his recollections of the Society's earliest years, and that article now stands at the head of the *Transactions* in this volume. Quite apart from whatever may be written or said to commemorate the Jubilee, the present cannot be other than a fitting occasion to make a definite and most hearty acknowledgement of the Society's great debt to Mr. Pattie for his unfailing interest and help during all that lengthy period, and to offer him sincere congratulations on his triumphant "Fifty Years After." May his interest and his activity long continue!

At its meeting in March 1928 the Society learned with special interest of the presentation to the University Library of the Henri Bourgeois Collection of books,<sup>3</sup> and sent its greetings to the donor. As a mark of esteem for this distinguished Belgian Scholar, Professor Herbert Smith, Ph.D., who is not a member of the Society, was asked to read a paper on Yiddish, with special reference to

<sup>1</sup> The matter was raised in the Society as long ago as October 1882, but apart from referring it to a committee nothing seems to have been done, and no report was made.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Pattie's portrait appeared as frontispiece in *Transactions*, Vol. IV.

<sup>3</sup> See page 59.

M. Bourgeois' own grammar of that language. The warmest thanks of the Society are due to Professor Smith for his admirable sketch.

It is with sorrow that I record the serious losses that the Society has suffered during the quinquennium covered by this volume. Seven members died during the period, and of these, three were Office Bearers, Mr. Robert Gardner,<sup>1</sup> Dr. James Young,<sup>2</sup> and Dr. Thomas Weir.<sup>3</sup> This is not the place to write at length of their services to the Society, or of Dr. Weir's place in the world of Semitic studies; suffice it to say here that their memories will long be green among us and that the benefits of their services will not speedily pass away. Yet if I may for the moment write from the standpoint of the actual date (August 1930) instead of that of the closing of the present record, I should like to be allowed to emphasise the gratification with which all must see the completion of the Society's tribute to Dr. Weir in the establishment of a "Weir Memorial Prize" in the University, for the encouragement of Arabic studies. The full memorial consists of a portrait of Dr. Weir, already hung in the Hebrew Class Room of the University, and of which the frontispiece of this volume is a reproduction; and of a sum of money, already gathered and put at the disposal of the University Court for the foundation of the Prize. The gift and foundation have been accepted by the University Court, and the Prize will be awarded biennially, beginning in 1932. It is to be open to all students who have duly attended the Ordinary or the Honours Arabic Class in the University, provided that not more than ten years have elapsed since their last attendance in the Class; and it will be awarded for original work in the field of Arabic studies.

The Editor of a volume such as this owes thanks to many helpers. They are due specially to Dr. Henry Farmer for his kindness in providing the block from which is printed the plate illustrating his paper on the Evolution of the Tanbur; and in the most emphatic degree to Professor Stevenson, the President of the Society, who was never too busy or too preoccupied to give, without stint, thought and time and effort in the preparation of this volume of *Transactions*.

FREDERICK A. STEUART.

INCHINNAN MANSE,  
August, 1930.

<sup>1</sup> See page 25.

<sup>2</sup> See page 28, and Appendix I.

<sup>3</sup> See page 60, and Appendix I.

## THE FIRST THREE YEARS OF THE LIFE OF THE SOCIETY.

BY ROBERT BURNET PATTIE, B.D., VICE-PRESIDENT.

EVEN with the help of the Minute Book, it is only a hazy picture of the earliest days of the Society that I can now recall after fifty years ; but it is a very pleasant picture. At the first we were more like a family gathering than a solemn society, especially when we met, as we did, in Dr. Robertson's house, under his fatherly guidance and with Mrs. Robertson's motherly kindness in the background. At that time, too, we all felt an individual responsibility for the common work and an interest in each other which could hardly be expected to continue when our numbers were multiplied. Perhaps in these last words I speak only for myself, because after a year or two I had very few opportunities of improving acquaintance with new members outside of our meetings.

I shall now note some impressions of the members who joined the Society in the first three years of its life. We were four at first, including Dr. Robertson, our founder, eight in the second year (1881), and twelve in the third year.

Of Dr. Robertson personally I need say little. His memory is fresh and sweet to many still. If the Society had meant nothing else to me, it would have been precious as keeping alive my friendship with him. This was true, I am sure, of others also.

James Arthur died in the first year of the Society's existence. He was an able student whose interests were at least as much philosophical as philological. The only paper he contributed to our proceedings was on "The passages in Job that refer to a future life." He and I spent three happy months in the same lodgings in Leipzig in the summer of 1879, though we did not attend the same lectures. If I did not become more deeply acquainted with him the fault was mine, because I was then meditating an important decision. Dr. Robertson and his family were also in Leipzig at the same time, and we met with them continually. The idea of a Glasgow University Oriental Society

was already incubating, although I cannot now remember the conversations regarding it.

William Kean lived to be well known and loved by many of us, though his life-work took him abroad. I remember well his incisive and unconventional conversation, and I may record a characteristic anecdote. At a Presbytery examination a reverend member took him aside and spoke to him to this effect: "The subject appointed is the Book of Genesis; have you studied it, Mr. Kean?" His reply was, "That is for you to find out, Sir." He was appointed to the Church of Scotland Mission in Alexandria in 1882, and in 1895 he became the representative agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society in St. Petersburg, where he died in 1919.

Of those who joined in 1881, A. C. Watson and James Young served the Society for many years and left their mark upon it. The others are more nearly forgotten. Peter Donaldson was a classical scholar, an athlete and a man of strong character. He contributed only one paper, for in 1882 he went as missionary to Constantinople, and then, later, to Salonica, where he married an Armenian wife and soon lost touch altogether with Scotland and with us. J. E. Houston was a useful member for several years, but, having become absorbed in parish and evangelical work, finally also gave up his membership. Of Alexander Stewart I can remember nothing at all.

In 1882 our growing numbers were strengthened by the adhesion of A. R. S. Kennedy, who still remains an active and honoured member, and of James Lindsay, who found fame as a writer of several books on philosophy. James Lindsay, although chiefly a philosopher, long continued his membership with us.<sup>1</sup> W. G. Duncan left us before 1898. John Taylor was something of a free lance and much of a mystery. His specialty was Persian, and he entertained the Society with translations from the poets which were enlivened with a peculiar humour of his own. He even dealt in one paper with a Tamil poet. He mysteriously came amongst us and vanished as mysteriously from our midst.

The early practice of the Society was that every Member should prepare a paper for each meeting. To give time for reading and discussion we held two and even three sittings on

<sup>1</sup> A paper of his on "the significance of the Old Testament for Modern Theology," read before the Society in October 1896, was published in the same year (Blackwood, Edinburgh).

the day of meeting. At the end of three years, when our numbers had grown to twelve, our first practice became of course obsolete.

The Minutes remind me that I have contributed twenty papers to the Proceedings, some of very little importance and some which I have quite forgotten. It is of interest to me that the first and the last of them dealt with material taken from the latter part of the Book of Ezekiel. The Society in this and other cases has encouraged continuous study and has promoted the revisal of early theories.

In conclusion, let me express my regret that the system of group study has not fulfilled the hopes with which it was introduced. Should it not be revived again? In particular, I should like to see a strong group of members studying together the Septuagint as an instrument for determining the true Hebrew text. By the help of the Septuagint there are, I believe, many important discoveries to be made, affecting not only exegesis and history, but even the rules of Hebrew grammar. In this line, or in any other that may be found more attractive, I wish the Society continued prosperity and growing success.

## TRANSACTIONS FROM 1923-28.

16th April, 1923.

At this meeting 17 members were present and two papers were read. (1) "The Musnad of 'Umar ibn 'Abdi'l-'Aziz," by Principal Alexander H. Harley, M.A., read by the late Rev. Morison Bryce, and (2) "Aden and its People," by the Rev. James Robson, M.A.

### THE MUSNAD OF 'UMAR B. 'ABDI 'L-'AZIZ.

BY PRINCIPAL A. H. HARLEY, M.A.

THIS paper contained as Introduction a biographical sketch of 'Umar's life and an account of the collection of the *Musnad* and of the supporting authorities (*rijāl*) of its traditions. 'Umar had both a practical and a pious interest in *ḥadīth*, but it was left to a traditionist, al-Bāghdādī, of nearly two centuries later, to make the collection of such as had his *sanad*. This compiler had considerable repute in his day; "he related his traditions mostly from memory, it is said, and their number and the facility with which he quoted them were remarkable; his mind was so pre-occupied with them that they interfered even with the due course of his obligatory prayers."

One reference by Ibn Ḥajar to the existence of the *Musnad* thus compiled is quoted.

The Introduction and the text, with an index of proper names and copious notes, have been printed in the *Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xx., 1924, No. 7, pp. 391-488. The text was copied from a MS. in the Government of India Collection (1916- ). The existence of another exemplar was not then known; but sometime later a copy of the text lithographed in 1922 in Multān, India, came to hand. It is based on a different MS., likewise defective in places, but in others it emends the copy in possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

### ADEN AND ITS PEOPLE.

BY THE REV. JAMES ROBSON, M.A.

ADEN is not so barren as it looks from the harbour, for 169 different varieties of flowers have been discovered on the rocks. It is a volcanic peninsula, its highest point being Jebel Shamsan, 1775 feet above sea-level,

and its circumference being about fifteen miles. The mainland is largely desert, the most important oases being Sheikh Othman and Lahej.

The peninsula contains the two towns of Aden (or Crater) and Tawāhī (or Steamer Point), with the village of Ma'alla between them. At Crater are the tanks which collect rain water ; and at Steamer Point are a number of offices.

The Aden Settlement includes the peninsula, part of the mainland, Little Aden, and Perim. There is nominally a large sphere of British influence, but, since the War, the Imam of San'a has occupied many places which previously were under British protection.

The climate is healthy on the whole. The death-rate among Europeans is 7·2 per thousand, and this figure includes people who are put ashore in a dying condition from passing ships. June and September are the warmest months, when the nights are often oppressive.

The population is very mixed, about half being Arabs. There are Somalis, Parsis, Indian Mohammadans, Hindus, Jews, British, French, Italians, Greeks. The Indians are mainly shop-keepers, the wealthiest being the Parsis. The Jews are a very industrious community ; many of them are shop-keepers, others are occupied in different arts and crafts. The Somalis are not very fond of regular work.

The most important industries are the salt-pans, the skin trade, and the work about the harbour. The land produces nothing but dates, so that all commodities have to be brought in by camel from the interior, or by boat from other countries. The people practice many different kinds of crafts, but the workmanship is poor. They do not seem to take a pride in their work, but engage in it as a necessary evil.

The Arabs are small, and wear small skirts called fūtahs. People outside the Settlement are armed with small, curved daggers (called gambiyahs) or with rifles. Arms are not allowed within the Settlement.

The people are fond of spending their time in the coffee-shops, drinking coffee and playing cards or dominoes. A curious practice is the eating of kāt, the leaves of a plant which grows in the Yemen.

The houses are small, mostly of mud bricks. At night they are closely shut up from fear of burglary.

Polygamy is not common, as it is expensive, but divorce is very common. A wife's main duty is to bear sons. Six weeks after the birth of a son a feast is held, and the mother receives a silk dress.

The dowry paid for a young girl who has not previously been married is about Rs. 200 or Rs. 300. Festivities at a marriage last two days, at the bridegroom's house for the men and at the bride's house for the women. The guests must bring presents of money, and they are entertained to drinks, smokes, kāt, and music.

Funerals are attended only by men, who walk along quickly, taking turns at carrying the bier. For three days after a funeral the Koran is read by a professional reader in the house of the bereaved family. The women go to the grave afterwards to mourn.



The Arabs do not observe prayer nor the fast of Ramadhān very punctiliously as a rule, but they are very superstitious. They are afraid of the jinn, and sing or wear charms to frighten them away. Charms are also used to prevent or cure illness, and are worn even by the animals. There is much preventible disease which is unchecked because of the fatalism of the people and their misplaced faith in the curative properties of charms.

They make much of dead saints, and hold *ziāras* at their tombs every year, when a fair is held.

Many of the women are badly treated. They do not go to the mosque to pray. They either pray at home or at the tomb of a saint. Among them the veil is a sign of respectability. It is generally only the very poor who do not wear it.

The most hopeful sign at present is an increasing desire for education, which should in time raise the status of the people.

1st October, 1923.

This meeting was attended by 19 members and three papers were read : (1) " Babylonian Number Systems and the Origin of the Calendar," by the Rev. Professor Andrew C. Baird, B.Sc., D.D. (2) " A Newly Discovered Account of the Fall of Nineveh," by the Rev. Professor W. B. Stevenson, D.Litt., D.D. (3) " The Arabian Influence in European Music," by Mr. (now Doctor) Henry Farmer, M.R.A.S.

Dr. Farmer's paper has, since the date of this meeting, been published in extended form in *J.R.A.S.* Jan. 1925, pp. 61-80, and afterwards as a pamphlet entitled *The Arabian Influence on Musical Theory* (Glasgow : Harold Reeves, 1925).

## BABYLONIAN NUMBER SYSTEMS AND THE ORIGIN OF THE CALENDAR.

BY THE REV PROFESSOR ANDREW C. BAIRD, B.Sc., D.D.

IN how far the marvellous progress of the ancient Babylonians and Sumerians in a knowledge of astronomy and in the invention of methods of accurate chronology was due to their possession of a system of numeration far in advance of any other nation of antiquity, is difficult for us to determine, for the Sumero-Babylonian number system was itself a product of accurate astronomical observation and mathematical genius.

At least as early as 3000 B.C. the Sumerians invented a number system and method of reckoning that made calculations comparatively simple, and up to the time of the adoption of Arabic numerals and the invention of the cypher theirs was the most perfect numerical system in the world.

At the very beginning of Sumerian civilisation, before the cuneiform style of writing was developed from simple picture writing, the Sumerians, like almost all primitive peoples, used a decimal system derived from the use of the ten digits. They represented the numbers up to 10 by varying numbers of round depressions made on clay tablets by the end of the stylus, and they symbolised the tens by still larger depressions.

When, however, at a very early period the Sumerians discovered a means of reckoning time accurately and invented a calendar, their observation of the measure of time led to their adoption of a new numerical system based on their astronomical observations. This number system as well as the astronomical data on which it was based was closely associated with the religious ideas of the Sumero-Babylonians. The gods who reveal the measurement of time are Shamash, the sun-god, and Sin, the moon-god. The Sumerians early observed that in the course of a year or one complete revolution of the sun, as they thought, round the earth—the moon makes roughly 12 cycles of revolution, and so they divided the year into 12 months. They further observed that the planets in their revolution only occupy a narrow belt in the heavens  $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  broad—the zodiac—and that each month the sun occupied a different place in relation to the fixed stars of the zodiac and so corresponding to the 12 months the zodiac was divided into 12 parts, each being named after a supposed resemblance of the fixed stars in that part to some figure of animal or thing, hence the Ram, the Bull, the Heavenly Twins, etc. The 12 signs of the Zodiac, exactly as we have them, were known to the Babylonians at least as early as the eighth century B.C.

The Babylonians found that the month divided roughly into 30 days, the years thus having  $12 \times 30$  days, 360 days. The day was divided in a fashion exactly similar to the division of the year, having 12 Kaspu or double-hours, each of which was divided into 30 units or periods of 2 minutes. Thus the circle, whether of the year or of the day, was divided into 360 units, and so it remains still—trigonometry the world over recognising  $360^{\circ}$  in a complete revolution.

360 was apparently chosen, not only as being the multiple of 12, but as being the mean between the lunar year of 354 days and the solar year of 365 $\frac{1}{4}$  days, so that the number of intercalary days each year should be the same.

Achilles Tatius, the Byzantine, celebrated alike as an historian and profligate, of the fifth century A.D., reports the following tradition regarding the fixing of the units of time and length by the Babylonians. "The Chaldeans undertook to divide up the course of the sun and of the hours, in that they divided the hour (i.e. the double hour, kaspu) into 30 parts at the time of the equinox and fixed on this thirtieth part to be the unit of the measure of time. They also declared that the sun went with the speed of an average man and that its course in the hour contained 30 such units." Modern research into Babylonian astronomical tablets, especially by Dr. Craig, has entirely confirmed these statements of Tatius. Thus

$\frac{1}{360}$  of the daily cycle of the sun or a period of two minutes became the unit of time.

The unit measure of length, as Tatius also remarks, is derived from the measure of time. It is the distance the sun, travelling as they thought with the speed of an average man, would progress in the heavens in unit time. The Greek unit of length, the stadion, 202 English yards, similarly is the distance a man could walk in two minutes. So, also, the larger unit of length of the Babylonians (*kaspu*) is the distance an average man will walk in a double hour (*kaspu*). This still survives in the Russian league and the German mile, these both being supposititiously the distance a man could walk in one double hour.

In order to obtain that correspondence between sun and moon that the Babylonian astronomer felt to be essential, he divided the year into six double months corresponding to the double hours, each having 60 days. These double months of 60 days were divided like the year into 12 parts or lunar weeks of five days each. Thus each lunar week contained 60 *kaspu* or double hours, keeping up a numerical analogy which the Babylonian thought to be divine. Six such lunar weeks = one month.

It is interesting to note that the double month of 60 days is still a method of reckoning time used by Arabs and Indians. The naming of the months in the Roman Calendar seems to point to a similar mode of reckoning time having been in vogue in Rome in the earliest times, for, whereas the first six months, January to June, have all special names, from July onward the months are called simply *quintilis*, *sextilis*, etc. The six months with special names probably therefore were originally double months into which the year was divided. Correspondingly, the day was divided among Semitic peoples into six parts, Morning, Noon and Evening, and the three Watches of the Night, a division of the day constantly used both in N.T. and O.T.

From these divisions of time the Sumero-Babylonians obtained their numerical notation and so laid the foundation of Babylonian arithmetic. Originally, as we have seen, they had a decimal system as we have, but since 60 was the number of days in a double month, and likewise the number of *kaspu* or double hours in the five-day week, and as it was  $\frac{1}{60}$  part of the complete revolution of 360, the Sumerians superimposed a sexagesimal system upon the earlier decimal system, taking 60 as a unit, so that their base numbers were 1, 60, and 3600, i.e.  $60^2$ . In later Semitic Babylonian usage the decimal and sexagesimal systems are combined, so that the basal numbers in use are now five, viz. 1, 10, 60, 600, and 3600. All other numbers are represented in writing by combinations and repetitions of the signs for these five numbers (e.g. 22 is represented by two tens and two unit signs).

In the calendar 60 was always divided by 5 and 12, there being 12 weeks of five days each in a double month and five days of 12 hours each in a five-day week. So 5 and 12 also become key numbers in the Babylonian number system. Thus five is the number of the planets, without the sun

and moon, and it was only in later Babylonian times when sun worship (Marduk worship) gained the supremacy over moon worship (Sin worship) that seven planets were reckoned—sun and moon being added—and the seven-day week was substituted for the five-day week. Hence seven became the perfect and sacred number of the Semitic peoples.

At a later period of Babylonian history the zodiac was divided into 24 instead of 12 parts, each sign being divided into two, corresponding to the waxing and waning of the moon in each month. And by the law of analogies that governed all Babylonian mathematical ideas, the day became divided into 24 one hour divisions instead of the 12 double hours as formerly.

The division of the day into 12 hours (not 24), Herodotus tells us (ii. 108), the Greeks learned from the Babylonians, and this division still survives in the numbering of a watch face up to 12. The reckoning of the minute hand as passing through  $\frac{1}{60}$  of an hour in one space between two numbers also shows Babylonian influence. So also the sexagesimal system survives in 60 minutes in one hour and 60 seconds in one minute, and in the French numerical system *soixante*, *soixantedix*, etc.

The influence of the Babylonian sexagesimal system is seen not only in our divisions of time but in most of our weights and measures. Counting by the dozen and the gross is quite anomalous in our decimal system, but it apparently owes its origin to 12 being one of the base numbers of the Sumerians. So also 12 pence in a shilling and the German 12 pf. in a Groschen.

The Pythagoreans borrowed their ideas of the symbolism of number and of divine harmonies from the Chaldeans as Pythagoras himself acknowledges, and these philosophers thus transmitted the mathematical knowledge of the ancient Sumerians to all Europe.

A very considerable change in the Babylonian calendar was wrought by the substitution of the seven-day week for the five-day week. This seven-day week has come down to us from the Hebrews and the Romans. The exact time of the change in Babylonian chronology has not been precisely determined, but the rise of the seven-day week must have coincided with the change to the primacy of the sun-god Shamash in the Pantheon from that of the moon-god Sin. With the rise in importance of Babylon and Sippar and the decline of the dynasty of Ur, Shamash and Marduk became supreme and therefore at least as early a date as 2500 B.C. is indicated for the use of a seven-day week in Babylon itself.

Each day of the week was called after one of the seven planets, which governed it, as the names of the days of the week clearly show, Sunday, Monday (or *Lundi*), *Mardi*, *Mercredi*, *Jeudi*, *Vendredi*, Saturday.

Following the analogy between the week and the day, each hour of the day belongs to one of the seven planets, which governs that hour. The order of the planets, as ruling over the hours, begins with Saturn, which has the longest period, and ends with the moon, which has the shortest. Thus the first hour belongs to Saturn, the second to Jupiter and so on,

the seventh to the moon, the eighth again to Saturn, down to the twenty-fourth, which belongs to Mars. The next day makes no break in the cyclic order, so that the first hour of the next day belongs to the sun. Each day was named after the planet to which its first hour belonged. Hence comes the order of the days of the week as we have them. This is all fully explained in a clay tablet found by Hilprecht at Nippur.

Just as the Babylonians associated each day of the week and each hour of the day with a particular planet, so by the law of analogies the years themselves were arranged in cycles of seven, each year having a planetary deity associated with it. Thus in the Priestly Code of the Mosaic Law we have the Sabbath of the seventh year corresponding to the Sabbath of the seventh day and having similar characteristics (Lev. xxv. 1-7). So also the year of jubilee of the Hebrews had its counterpart in the Babylonian calendar, which recognised a week of years, or 49 years as a completed cycle and therefore a divine harmony. The odd year, the fiftieth year, was regarded (as by the Hebrews, Lev. xxv. 8 ff.) as a specially sacred time, just as the intercalary days at the Babylonian New Year were particularly associated with religion. The end of 100 years or the completion of two cycles of 50 was regarded also by the Babylonians with special reverence. Indications of these conceptions are found in the Code of Hammurabi.

The following observations on the use of "round numbers" in cuneiform inscriptions and documents are derived from my own investigations. Numbers in Sumerian documents seem always to have been used in an exact mathematical sense. The parallel trilingual inscriptions on the rock of Behistun supply an instructive contrast with one another. In the Babylonian version "round numbers" are used nine times in giving the numbers of killed and captive enemies. In the Persian and Susian versions there is not one case of such numbers, expressions like "many," "a multitude," etc., being used instead. In the cuneiform account of the campaign of Tiglath Pileser I there are thirteen cases of the use of numbers, of which only one is (formally) precise. In seven of the thirteen cases the round number is a multiple of sixty (30, 60, 120, 180, 300, 1200, 6000). In the remaining five the numbers belong to the decimal series (5, 50, etc.).

In the inscriptions of Tiglath Pileser II there are twenty-eight cases of the use of numbers. Of these nine are round numbers belonging to the sexagesimal system, fourteen are round numbers in the decimal system and only five are (formally) exact numbers. In the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II eight numbers occur, of which five are round numbers of the decimal system and three are exact numbers. In the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar I have found eighteen occurrences of round numbers, all multiples of ten, five of them being also multiples in the sexagesimal system.

Perhaps in late Babylonian history numbers of the decimal system increasingly took the place of numbers of the sexagesimal system in popular usage.

A correspondence may be noted between the points chosen for the beginnings of years and days respectively. A New Year beginning with the winter solstice corresponds to a day beginning at midnight. A year beginning in autumn corresponds to a day beginning at sunset. A year beginning at the spring equinox corresponds to a day beginning at sunrise. All these coincidences illustrate the over-ruling Babylonian law of analogy between the divisions of the year and the day.

The Sumero-Babylonian year of 360 days was fitted into the solar year by the addition of five days, made annually at the New Year festival and not reckoned as part of any month. Every fourth year a sixth day was added and so an average of  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days was maintained. The normal year of the Babylonians was divided into 72 weeks of five days each. Corresponding to the double hour and the double month there was also a double year of 144 weeks. After the adoption of the seven-day week, the so-called Metonic cycle was introduced. This cycle takes its name from the archon Meton, who introduced it into Athens in 434 B.C., although it was used much earlier by the Babylonians. In this system the months contain 29 and 30 days alternately and there is a leap-year of 13 months. The whole system revolves in a cycle of nineteen years. The thirteenth (leap-year) month was not under the regency of any planetary deity, a peculiarity that has probably given rise to the widespread superstition of the unluckiness of the number thirteen.

#### A NEWLY DISCOVERED ACCOUNT OF THE FALL OF NINEVEH.<sup>1</sup>

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR W. B. STEVENSON, D.LITT., D.D.

THE chief points of interest established or suggested by this new Chronicle may be summarised as follows :

(1) The date of the fall of Nineveh is supplied for the first time by a cuneiform document. It took place in Ab of the 14th year of the Babylonian king, Nabopolassar (August, 612 B.C.).

(2) The Medes and Babylonians were indisputably, as modern historians have assumed, the accomplisners of the overthrow of the Assyrian Empire. To these Mr. Gadd adds the Ummān Manda, whom he calls the Scythians, as a third ally.

(3) The chronicle, as published, supplies a detailed account of events from 616 to 609 B.C., and it is clear that there was still, nominally, an Assyrian king as late as the year 609, i.e. some years after the fall of Nineveh.

(4) Both before and after the fall of Nineveh Egyptian troops co-operated with the Assyrians against the Medes and Babylonians (in 616 and 609 B.C.).

(5) King Josiah in fighting with Pharaoh Necho at Megiddo (in 608 B.C.) was opposing a friend of the Assyrians and was supporting the Medes and

<sup>1</sup> "The Fall of Nineveh," *The Babylonian Chronicle*, No. 21,900, in the British Museum. Edited by C. J. Gadd. London. 1923.

Babylonians. His policy, therefore, was both anti-Egyptian and anti-Assyrian. This suggests that the text of 2 Chron. xxxv. 20 is superior to that of 2 Kings xxiii. 29.

(1) Hitherto the date of the fall of Nineveh has been deduced from 2 Kings xxiii. 29 on the assumption that since a king of Assyria is spoken of in the year of Josiah's death (608 B.C.), his capital must still have been uncaptured in that year. The conclusion was, in the absence of definite proof, a legitimate one, although not stringent, and now shown to be erroneous. Its disproof is a salutary warning of the uncertainty of much that passes as historical fact.

(2) Prašek's *Geschichte der Meder und Perser* (1906-10) contains a good account of the references in cuneiform sources to the Scythians and Kimmerians and Ummān Manda. Unfortunately Mr. Gadd's translation of the new Chronicle uses the word Scythian instead of the Ummān Manda of his text. The two should be distinguished. The Scythians were still, according to Prašek, allies of the Assyrians against the Medes and the Kimmerians in the latter part of the seventh century B.C. The Ummān Manda were, like the Scythians, Aryan immigrants from Southern Europe, but were resident in the territory of Media and subjects of the King of Media. The king of the Ummān Manda referred to in the inscription may then be the King of the Medes, and not a third enemy of the Assyrians as Mr. Gadd assumes.

(3) and (4) It seems to follow from the new Chronicle that the Egyptian campaign of 608 B.C. (2 Kings xxiii. 29, 2 Chron. xxxv. 20) was undertaken on behalf of the Assyrians against the Babylonians. A similar campaign in 609 certainly was, and the Egyptian policy in these years was uniformly pro-Assyrian. This view finds support in Josephus *Antiq.* 10. 5. 1 (quoted by Mr. Gadd), who says that the Egyptians were marching against the Medes and Babylonians. It is consistent, also, with 2 Chron. xxxv. 20, which says that the Egyptians were marching to besiege Carchemish.

(5) The conflict between the texts of 2 Kings and 2 Chron. may, therefore, be solved by assuming that the former is corrupt. The words על־פֶּרֶת fit admirably into the text of 2 Chron. and only with much difficulty into the text of 2 Kings. It is easier to suppose that the phrase "against the king of Assyria," in 2 Kings, is an interpolation, than to suppose that the text of 2 Chron. is a substitute for that of 2 Kings.

14th April, 1924.

There were 18 members present at this meeting and two papers were read: (1) "The Story of Joseph in the Septuagint," by the Rev. J. P. Wilson, B.D., and (2) "Recent Views regarding the Date of the Exodus," by the Rev. Professor W. B. Stevenson, D.Litt., D.D.

## THE STORY OF JOSEPH IN THE SEPTUAGINT.

BY REV. J. P. WILSON, B.D.

THE writer presented a series of notes on Genesis, chapters xxxvii., xxxix., xl., xli., xlii., xliii., selecting and commenting on points of difference between the LXX and M.T., and indicating noteworthy renderings. Some examples follow :

In LXX of xxxvii. 2 the evil report is brought not by Joseph against his brethren but *vice versa*.

In xxxvii. 3 the Greek is the apparent source of the English rendering, "a coat of many colours."

In xxxvii. 28 the insertion of the definite article before "Midianites, Merchantmen" seems intended to identify the Midianites with the previously named Ishmaelites, the Hebrew being anarthrous.

In xxxvii. 28 the "twenty pieces of silver" appear as "twenty pieces of gold" in accordance, perhaps, with the current coinage of Alexandria.

In xxxvii. 36 the description of Potiphar invites comment.

*Saris* is translated here by *παίδων* but in xxxix. 1 by *ευνούχος*, while *sar hat-tabbāhim* is translated in both places by *ἀρχιμάγειρος*, which Philo and Josephus took to mean "chief cook." The problems are whether Joseph's master was a eunuch in charge of prisoners, or a different sort of functionary who was a married man, and whether documentary sources have been here combined.

In xxxix. 4 for *יִשְׁרָאֵל* the Greek has *ἐνρήπτει*, implying apparently another Hebrew text (so Conybeare and Stock), but possibly just a free translation of M.T. The same Hebrew word is used in xl. 4 of Joseph serving the imprisoned butler and baker; and the Greek is then *παρέστη*, which is applied in the New Testament to the service of attendants.

In xl. 13, referring to the chief butler, "shall lift up thy head" is in LXX "shall remember thy office," but not in verse 19 when the same words refer to the chief baker. In verse 20, where the fulfilment is told, the Greek has "remembered the office of the chief butler and the office of the chief baker," while the Hebrew has "lifted up the head." The variations are curious and perhaps merely exemplify the freedom of the translator.

In xli. 16 the translator has taken *בְּלַעַדִּי* as a preposition governing *אֵלָיוֹם* and gives *ἀνευ τοῦ θεοῦ*. In M.T. *בְּלַעַדִּי* is presented as a clause by itself = "It is not in me." The word is a puzzle to translators, occurring in xiv. 24 where with *רַק* it is rendered in R.V. "Save only" with marginal note "Let there be nothing for me; only that."

In xli. 43 the obscure word *אֲבִרָה* is apparently rendered *καὶ ἡγεῖς*, "herald," R.V. following A.V. has "Bow the knee." B.D.B. (Heb. Dict.) mention several interpretations, including "Grand Vizier," said to be based on the Assyrian.



In xli. 52 the interpretation of the name given to Joseph's younger son, Ephraim, is in question. M.T. explains "For God hath made me fruitful, etc." The Greek is  $\delta\tau\iota \psi\lambda\omega\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\nu \mu\epsilon \delta \Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$  = "hath lifted me up." But the reading of the Bodleian Codex is  $\eta\upsilon\acute{\xi}\eta\sigma\acute{\epsilon} \mu\epsilon$  = "hath increased me." This is nearer M.T. in meaning.

In xlii. 9 we get the benefit of light from the Papyri on the meaning of  $\epsilon\chi\upsilon\eta$ , which is not an obvious rendering for  $\text{עֲרוֹת הָאֶרֶץ}$ . The word  $\epsilon\chi\upsilon\sigma$  occurs in a Fayyûm Papyrus with the meaning "caravan route." This may be the meaning here and may represent a superior reading. An invading army would be helped by accurate knowledge of the caravan routes.

### RECENT VIEWS REGARDING THE DATE OF THE EXODUS.

By THE REV. PROFESSOR W. B. STEVENSON, D.Litt., D.D.

IN this paper the evidence in favour of four different dates for the Exodus was summarised and examined. The dates of the reigns of Egyptian kings are taken from Breasted (*History of Egypt*, 1905).

(1) According to 1 Kings vi. 1 the building of Solomon's temple began in the fourth year of his reign and in the 480th year after the Exodus. While the date of the beginning of Solomon's reign is uncertain, it may be put for the present purpose at about 970 B.C. This makes the date of the Exodus about 1450 B.C.; the Pharaoh of the oppression was then perhaps Thutmose III (1501-1447) and the Pharaoh of the Exodus Amenhotep II (1447-20 B.C.). This calculation fits closely enough the evidence of the Tell Amarna letters, which show that Palestine was being invaded by the Khabiru in the reign of Akhnaton or Amenhotep IV (1375-50). If the Hebrews were a section of these invaders, they might have left Egypt in the reign of Amenhotep II and have begun their invasion of Palestine about forty years later. This view is supported by Dr. G. A. F. Knight in his *Nile and Jordan* (1921).

(2) A second view is that the Pharaoh of the oppression was Rameses II (1292-25) and the Pharaoh of the Exodus Merneptah (1225-15), and that the invasion of Palestine took place about 1180 B.C. This view is advocated by Professor Flinders Petrie in his *Israel and Egypt* (S.P.C.K.). The principal arguments are: (a) the Hebrews built Rameses for the Pharaoh of the oppression. If the city received its name Rameses at the time of its building by the Hebrews, the date was in the reign of Rameses II or later. (b) Seti I and Rameses II, and even their successors Merneptah and Rameses III, were overlords of Palestine. The Hebrews can have settled in Palestine only after the conclusion of this period of Egyptian domination, since no memory of it has been preserved in the records of early Hebrew history. (c) Assuming that the Hebrews settled in Egypt in the time of the Hyksos, it would seem likely that the period of oppression began after

the expulsion of the Hyksos, about 1580 B.C. In Gen. xv. 13 the period of oppression is reckoned at 400 years. Taking 400 from 1580 gives 1180 as the date of the Exodus or possibly of the Hebrew settlement in Canaan. (d) According to the priestly genealogy of the Book of Chronicles (1 Chron. vi., cf. 2 Sam. viii. 17) there were ten generations from the time of Aaron to the time of Zadok, David's priest, i.e. approximately 210 years. If we put the beginning of David's reign shortly before 1000 B.C., say 1010 B.C., and count back from that we reach 1220 as approximately the date of Aaron's attaining manhood. The year 1220 falls within the reign of Merneptah and this confirms his being identified with the Pharaoh of the oppression. If Zadok is reckoned to have attained manhood about 1010, we reach about 1240 B.C. as the date of Aaron's being twenty-one years old, and have to make him correspondingly older in the reign of Merneptah.

(3) Eduard Mahler (*Handbuch der jüdischen Chronologie*, 1916; cf. *J.R.A.S.* 1901, pp. 33-67) also makes the period of Hebrew oppression begin with the expulsion of the Hyksos (dated by him in 1575 B.C.). According to a Jewish tradition it lasted 240 years. This gives 1335 B.C. as the date of the Exodus. Mahler further supposes that the plague of darkness, if a real event, was caused by an eclipse of the sun. The Exodus itself took place in the first month of the year, in spring, in the month Nisan or Abib, and according to Jewish tradition on a Thursday, the 15th of the month. The plague of darkness, again according to tradition, occurred fourteen days earlier, on Thursday the first of the month. Now the only total eclipse of the sun visible in the Delta from the end of February to the beginning of May, during the whole of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C., occurred on Thursday, 13th March, 1335. The Exodus, therefore, took place on Thursday, 27th March, 1335. The year, according to Breasted's chronology, falls in the reign of Harmhab (1350-1315), the last king of the 18th dynasty. According to Mahler it falls in the reign of Rameses II (dated by him 1347-1280 B.C.).

(4) The fourth date is favoured by Josephus and supported by H. R. Hall (*Ancient History of the Near East*, 1913). It makes the Exodus coincide with the expulsion of the Hyksos (1580 B.C.). It may be based on the broad consideration that the period of the Hyksos, when Semites ruled Egypt, was favourable to the admission of Hebrew settlers, and that the national uprising connected with the expulsion of the Hyksos supplies a good explanation of the departure of the Hebrews. H. R. Hall admits that the Exodus, so dated, was separated by a long interval from the date of the settlement in Canaan, which he brings down to the period of the Khaboru, 200 years later. Fresh and more particular support for the former date is given by Hubert Grimme in his ambitious attempt (*Altägyptische Inschriften vom Sinai*, 1923) to decipher the Sinai inscriptions. He believes that he has read in the inscriptions the names of the Egyptian monarchs Thutmose and Hatshepsut, and also the names Sinai (five times) and Iahu (once). He dates the inscriptions from 1500 B.C. onwards and treats them as evidence of the sojourn of the Hebrews at

Sinai about that date. The date fixed by the excavations of Jericho for the destruction of that great Canaanite city (1500 B.C.) might also be used to support this early date of the Exodus were it not that the settlement in Canaan can hardly have begun as early as 1500 B.C., as would seem to be implied if the Hebrews captured the city in that year.

The arguments advanced in support of these various views were examined and the objections to each were stated. The conclusion was drawn that no clear case had been made for any one of the dates mentioned. The opinion was expressed that excavation in Palestine would ultimately, and perhaps soon, show when the Hebrews first arrived in the country and established themselves there. The American excavations at Beisan seem already to have made an important contribution towards a determination of the question.

13th October, 1924.

The meeting was attended by 20 members and three papers were read: (1) "Oriental MS. No. 286 (Hunterian Museum), Treatise on the Papal Supremacy, by Nectarius, Patriarch of Jerusalem," by the Rev. Alexander Moffatt, B.D.; (2) "The Bible in Mārāthi," by the Rev. R. B. Douglas, B.D., read by the Rev. E. J. Harris, B.D.; and (3) "Hebrew and Arabic, Similarities in Thought and Grammar," by Professor A. S. Tritton, M.A., read by the Rev. Hugh Duncan, B.D.

## AN ORIENTAL MS. IN THE HUNTERIAN MUSEUM.

BY THE REV. ALEXANDER MOFFATT, B.D.

THE catalogue of MSS. in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University, gives the following description of Oriental MS. 286:

Paper, 8½ by 6½ inches. Ff. 44 written in single columns of 15 lines, each 6½ by 3½ inches. Rubrics and rubricated marginalia. Paged in Arabic.

*Binding.*—Millboards, covered with black morocco, blind tooled borders and central floral device stamped on each board, much worn.

*Remarks.*—Attached to the first two flyleaves is a slip of paper with this title in an early eighteenth-century hand, "Nectarij Patriarchae Hierosolymitani Responsum ad Latinos / de primatu Papae, ex Graeco in Arabicum Sermonem / conversum a Christodoulo Gazae Archiepiscopo."

On the first page of the MS. it is stated that the work presents a compendium of teaching in answer to the Latins on the question of the primacy

of the Pope. It was compiled by the Bountiful Father, His Beatitude the Lord Nectarius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, deceased. It was translated from Greek into Arabic by Christodoulos, Metropolitan of Gaza, and distributed among native Christians in communion with the Orthodox Eastern Church at the charges of the then Patriarch of Jerusalem, Chrysanthus Nutar of Morea. At the foot of the first page there is a date in Arabic numerals, 1722.

Notices of the personages referred to above are to be found in le Quien's *Oriens Christianus*. Of Nectarius it is said that he was born near Candia in Crete about 1605. When his schooldays were over he entered the convent of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai. In 1660 he was chosen to be Bishop of Mt. Sinai and proceeded to Jerusalem to be consecrated there; but on arrival he learned that he had been nominated to succeed the patriarch Paisius who had just died. During his patriarchate Nectarius visited Constantinople, Smyrna, Chios and other places collecting funds to restore the apse of the Church of the Resurrection. He founded at Ramah in Palestine a hospice for pilgrims of the Orthodox Church. The infirmities of advancing years compelled him to abdicate in 1672. In the same year he took part in the Synod of Bethlehem convened to repudiate the charges of Calvinism levelled against Cyril Lucar, a former Patriarch of Constantinople, signing its decrees as Patriarch emeritus. He died in 1674.

The literary works of Nectarius include:

1. *Confutatio imperii Papae in ecclesiam*—written in Greek and published at Jassy in 1682 by his successor in the patriarchate of Jerusalem, Dositheos II. The book was written to answer a challenge issued by a Franciscan in Jerusalem, one Peter a Spaniard.

2. A treatise in Greek against the reformed doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. It forms part of a work to which several prelates of the Orthodox Church contributed. The whole collection was published with commentary, notes and dissertations by the learned French Orientalist, the Abbé Renaudot in 1709.

3. A history of Egypt from remote times to the days of Sultan Selim, who overthrew the Mameluke dynasty. This work has never been published.

The tractate on the primacy of the Pope by Nectarius belongs to the department of Polemical Theology. The pens of the polemical writers of the Eastern Church were not idle during the seventeenth century. Dealing only with ecclesiastics who wrote in Greek, Palmieri describes five productions of their pens between 1600 and 1700 (*Theologia Dogmatica Orthodoxa*: A. Palmieri, Florence 1911). The work of Nectarius was written in the latter part of the century, and should be regarded, not as an isolated example of polemical writing, but in relation to the efforts the Eastern Church made during this century to arrest what it believed to be encroachments of Western heretics and schismatics in the East. When regard is had to the difficulties the Orthodox Church of Palestine and Syria then had to face from within and from without we feel drawn to Nectarius.

Frail in body, poor in health, he was liberally endowed mentally and spiritually, as these two works of his on the primacy of the Pope testify. The erudition exhibited in his reply to the Franciscan whose ignorance he exposed so pitilessly should commend itself to others who, speaking without a knowledge of the facts, are disposed to associate the orthodoxy of the Eastern Church with ignorance and spiritual torpor, while his eloquent defence of the faith of his church, its traditions and practices, the fatherly tone of counsel, warning, and entreaty he employs towards the native Christians of his flock touch a sympathetic reader in places which are inaccessible to the logomachies of polemical discussion.

This short tractate purports to be a translation into Arabic of a work Nectarius wrote in Greek. I have not been able to discover whether or not the original exists, and while I have not made a detailed comparison of his two works on the subject of Papal Supremacy, i.e. the Greek work which was published at Jassy in 1682 and this Arabic MS. of the Hunterian Museum, I am of the opinion that they are two distinct works. The former is the more elaborate, the more erudite, the more controversial, the latter is a general statement of the beliefs of Nectarius addressed to a popular audience. Its scholarship lacks precision—presumably the aim of the writer was to carry conviction to simple minds by a skilful manipulation of material that he would have used differently had he been addressing men and women who had had a grounding in the facts of Christian history and doctrine.

The tractate is divided into five numbered sections, each termed *gaul*, the English equivalent of which is perhaps "discourse." Each section is introduced by a text from Scripture, each ends with an ascription of praise to Jesus Christ, and when we note further the expository and homiletic nature of the contents of each section it is a safe inference that this Arabic MS. is in reality a collection of sermons or addresses delivered by Nectarius in circumstances of which we have no knowledge. Their themes and texts are as follows :

1. *Disturbers of the peace of the Church.* Text, Psalm cxix. 6 (as in LXX), "With those who hate peace I am for peace."
2. *The voice of Authority.* Text, Deut. xxxii. 7, "Ask thy father and he will tell thee : thine elders and they will say unto thee."
3. *A dishonest zeal.* Text, Gal. vi. 13, "The circumcised do not keep the law, but their purpose is to have us circumcised ; so as to glory in our flesh."
4. *The testimony of Scripture.* Text, John v. 39, "Search the Scriptures for in them you will find eternal life."
5. *A culpable silence.* Text, Eccles. iii. 7, "There is a time for speech and a time for silence."

The character of these discourses may be further indicated by a few brief quotations :

1. The disturbers of the peace come from Italy, pursuing one aim by diverse methods. "At one time they disturb us with misleading assertions and maintain we lack orders and obedience; at another time they conspire to take from us our sites, i.e. the holy places which are in our hands; at another time to wreck our unanimity and divide us." The schism between East and West has its origin in the old Roman love of pre-eminence and vainglory and pride—a legacy to the Roman Church from the paganism of the Roman emperors. Mention is then made of five doctrinal differences between the Eastern and the Western Church.

2. In the words "Ask thy father," etc., the prophet did not recommend enquiries about corruptible, earthly things, he is exhorting men to learn the verities of the Faith. Regarding the claim of the Westerns that the authority of the Pope is derived from S. Peter, the Eastern Church interprets the Scriptures to mean that in the matter of authority the other apostles were on an equality with Peter. The command of Christ "Go ye into all the world and baptise peoples" was given to them all; if it was not, why choose twelve apostles at all? The discourse ends with an application of the story of Dives and Lazarus to the rival communions. "Lazarus represents us, the poor but orthodox Greeks, despised and vile in the estimation of the Westerns and others. Dives represents the Westerns, whose pride will be humbled at the day of Judgment."

3. The propaganda of the Westerns in Syria and Palestine is dishonest, being directed, not to the preaching of truths which the Eastern Church has neglected to preach, but solely to secure submission to the Pope. "All he asks of you is to pay reverence to the Pope and beyond that you can believe what you will, and in whatever God you will." Thereafter Nectarius proceeds to demolish the claim of the Pope to primacy by detailing thirteen graces and honours received from Christ by the whole apostolate. No apostle had more than another, and no one had less.

4. "In these two books (O.T. and N.T.) there is not one human word." Eternal life, which is offered as a reward for diligent search, means a knowledge of the Three in One and the One in Three. The source of that knowledge is Holy Scripture together with the interpretations of the Fathers. It may be proved "by the Doctors of the Church and by this word of truth that these rusty keys of the Pope and the rule of the flock alleged to be derived from Peter make a very feeble, thin and crumbling foundation for their lofty, beetling tower. It is not founded upon the firm rock which is Christ, but upon sand."

5. "A proper time for silence is when you are upbraided for the excellence of your piety, but it is not right to keep silence when men blaspheme against God with their proud boasting and seek to enjoy power only a little less than His." After this preface the argument against papal claims is continued.

## THE BIBLE IN MĀRĀTHI.

BY THE REV. R. B. DOUGLAS, B.D.

**MĀRĀTHI**, the language of a race which has won an outstanding place in Indian history, is spoken by about twenty million people in Western and Central India. Based on Sanskrit and written in the Sanskrit or Devanagari character, it is a language of remarkable power and flexibility, with a copious literature, including lyrics in praise of Hindu deities, which are sung all over the country and offer valuable points of contact between the thought of the people and the teachings of the Bible.

The first Mārāthi version of the Bible was made by Carey, Marshman and Ward, the N.T. being issued by the Serampore Press in 1807 and the O.T. in 1819. Written in a dialect peculiar to a district near Nagpur, this translation proved to be unsuited for general circulation. The same press also published the N.T. in another dialect of Mārāthi, that of the extreme southern Konkan. The American Mārāthi Mission, who were the first Protestant missionaries in Western India, after a trial of Carey's Mārāthi Bible, decided to make their own translation, which they did with the help of Indian pandits. In this work representatives of other missions, in particular the C.M.S. and the Scottish Mission, were afterwards associated. This translation was first published as a whole in 1847, and revised editions were issued in 1857 and 1872.

The need for further revision, however, was still felt, and in 1893 a committee was formed for this purpose in connection with the British and Foreign Bible Society. The revised N.T. was issued in 1907, the poetical and prophetic books of the O.T. in 1920, and the remaining books are now (1924) being seen through the press, and will complete a work that has extended over the long period of thirty-one years.

In spite of the care and scholarship expended on it, both by Indians and Europeans, this revised version has not been favourably received by Hindu readers in general, and many Christian scholars have joined in condemning it as uncouth in style and even unintelligible. The late Pandita Ramabai, a Christian convert, even went the length of making her own translation, a literal version which adheres more closely to the old Mārāthi Bible than to the Bible Society's revision. Concern at this critical attitude may be somewhat abated when it is remembered that similar treatment was meted out to the Authorised Version of 1611 on its first appearance.

Many of the criticisms passed by Indian and especially Hindu readers arise inevitably from the presence in the Bible of ideas which are foreign to the Mārāthi language and have to be expressed in words which only partially convey them, and which are bound to appear strange and awkward. The Biblical idea of God, for example, as an infinite personal Spirit, contradicts that idea of the Supreme Being which is most widespread and influential in Indian thought. Similarly with the conception of the Divine

**Spirit.** The Mārāthi word which suggests itself as the natural translation of both *ruach* and *pneuma* is *ātmā*, from *an* "to breathe." It expresses the principle of life, the individual soul, the Supreme Deity and Soul of the Universe. But while in Jewish and Christian thought there is a sharp distinction between the Spirit of God and the spirit of man, in Hindu thought *ātmā* in man and *ātmā* in the universe tend to merge in one another. To those accustomed to think of *ātmā* as pervading the universe, but not acting on it, free from desire, distinct from right and wrong, from cause and effect, the very idea of a Personal Divine Spirit must be strange and the phrase *Pavitra Ātmā* (Holy Spirit) a contradiction in terms.

Differences in idiom also naturally cause difficulty in translation. For example, in Mārāthi and other Indian vernaculars the plural is used in both the second and third persons as a respectful form of speech, or the reflexive pronoun *āpan* (myself, himself, etc.) is employed as an honorific, while the singular is used reverentially of God. The Mārāthi Bible has followed the Hebrew or Greek original literally, and has always used a singular where a single person is addressed or referred to, even though in many cases Mārāthi idiom requires the plural of respect or *āpan*. Thoroughly conscious as they are of the imperfections still remaining, those who have been engaged on the work of revision nevertheless venture to claim for their version that it is an accurate rendering into pure and idiomatic Mārāthi, which in some instances comes closer to the Hebrew or Greek than the English versions, and one that will afford a firm basis for further advance.

## HEBREW AND ARABIC: SIMILARITIES IN THOUGHT AND GRAMMAR.

BY PROFESSOR A. S. TRITTON, D.LITT., ALIGARH.

THIS paper brings together a number of Arabic phrases, turns of expression and constructions, the resemblance of which to Biblical phrases has struck the writer in his reading. Antithetic speech is common to both languages. The stars play a great part in Arabic as in Hebrew poetry. The serpent was proverbial for its deafness and the eye of a needle for narrowness. Salt was the symbol of friendship. The "mote" and the "beam" are common in Arabic. Sudden changes of grammatical person are quite common. Arabic passive participles—like the Hebrew—may have the meaning of Latin adjectives in *-abilis*. The ellipse in asseverations by which sentences seemingly positive have a negative meaning is not peculiar to Hebrew. In addition to these more general similarities a number of special phrases are paralleled in Arabic. Among those cited may be noted: "his brow bled sweat"; cf. Luke xxii. 44.



20th April, 1925.

The meeting was attended by 19 members. Intimation was made that in March of this year the hand of Death had fallen upon the Rev. Robert Gardner, B.D., Minister of Bo'ness, and Treasurer of the Society since 1890. A Memorial to the personality, scholarship, devotion and service of Mr. Gardner was inserted in the Minute of this date, but, as it was drafted in the form of a personal letter to Mr. Gardner's widow, it is not reproduced in Appendix I. where other Memorial minutes appear.

Three papers were read : (1) "Aramaic Influence in the New Testament, with special reference to the Fourth Gospel," by the Rev. Robert F. Chisholm, B.D. (2) "The Evolution of the Tanbur," by Mr. Henry G. Farmer, Ph.D., M.R.A.S., illustrated by specimens of the instruments to which reference was made. (3) "Omar Khayyam," by the Rev. T. H. Weir, D.D. Dr. Weir's paper has since appeared in extended form under the title, *Omar Khayyam, The Poet*, as a volume in the series "Wisdom of the East," London, John Murray, 1926.

#### ARAMAIC INFLUENCE IN THE NEW TESTAMENT, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

BY ROBERT F. CHISHOLM, B.D.

THE position adopted by the writer in this paper was that whilst the study of the Greek *Koine* had explained many peculiarities in N.T. Greek, Aramaic, the native speech of Palestine in the N.T. period, was also an important influence and a key to a deeper understanding of the N.T. writings. Three degrees of Aramaic influence may be distinguished : (1) the influence of Aramaic originals, documents or phrases, translated by the N.T. authors into Greek ; (2) the influence of a writer's habitual Aramaic speech, stamping the manner of his expression when composing freely in Greek ; (3) the influence of inherited Palestinian thought, transmitted through Aramaic and Hebrew, and mingling in the N.T. with elements of Greek origin.

Special mention was made of the endeavours of C. F. Burney<sup>1</sup> and C. C. Torrey<sup>2</sup> to prove the former existence of Aramaic originals of parts of the N.T. It was held that the probability of personal contact between the author of the Fourth Gospel and Jesus was strengthened by the evidence that the former thought in Aramaic whilst writing in Greek.

<sup>1</sup> *Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel*. Oxford 1922.

<sup>2</sup> *Composition and Date of Acts* (Harvard Theological Studies, I). 1916.

## THE EVOLUTION OF THE ʔANBŪR OR PANDORE.

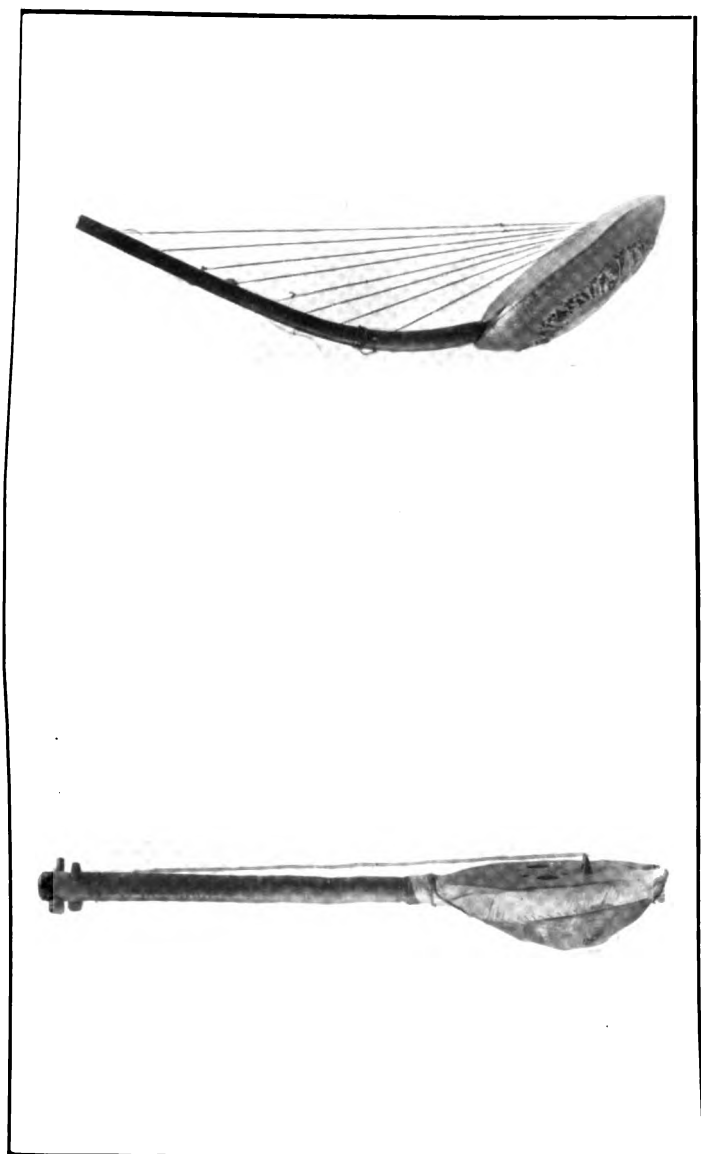
BY HENRY GEORGE FARMER, M.A., PH.D.

ONE of the most esteemed instruments of music in the East is the long-necked lute or pandore, known to Islāmic people as the ʔanbūr or ʔunbūr. By means of seven specimens exhibited to the Society the development of this instrument was traced through its successive stages.

The Senegambian instrument, as shown, is the most primitive type of its kind that we know of. It has a roughly hewn sound-chest of wood, the face or belly being of skin. It has two strings of horse-hair, and the neck, which is cylindrical, passes right through the sound-chest and protrudes through the skin belly at the place where the bridge is fixed. We find an instrument under the name of *nefer* of identical construction, even down to the very tassels which adorn the head or scroll, in ancient Egypt (XVIIIth Dynasty), and several examples are depicted by Wilkinson and Prisse d'Avennes.

Hebrew scholars and Biblical students are bound to be interested in two instruments mentioned in the O.T.—the *nebel* and the *nebel 'āsōr*. It was suggested long ago that the Hebrew word *nebel* and the Egyptian *nefer* were cognate philologically, and that since the Egyptian *nefer* was a pandore the Hebrew *nebel* was something similar. Supposing that we accept this, what was the *nebel 'āsōr*? I believe that we can form a reasonable idea of it by looking at the Senegambian pandore. Take away its straight neck, insert a bow-shaped neck in its place, and you get a harp like this next exhibit. As a pandore the *nefer* or *nebel* possessed from one to three strings, as Julius Pollux tells us, but as a harp a great many more strings could be attached, and with the Hebrews it was strung with ten, hence the name *nebel 'āsōr*, the *psallērion detachordon* of the Septuagint. In Palestine to this very day, these two types are known respectively as the *ʔanbūr* and *ʔanbūr sūdāni*.

Julius Pollux informs us that the one-stringed pandore or *monochordos* was invented by the Arabs, whilst the Assyrians had a three-stringed *pandoura*. The Greek recognized that the *pandoura*, like the *nablas* (= Heb. *nebel*), the *kingra* (= Heb. *kinnōr*), and another half-dozen of their instruments of music, came from the Semites. From what word, however, did the Greeks get their term *pandoura*? Since the dawn of Islām, the Arabic word for the pandore has been *ʔanbūr*, or as the Arab lexicographers write it, *ʔunbūr*. According to these lexicographers the word is derived from the Persian word *dunbāh bara*, because it was likened to the tail of a lamb. To me, this is merely one of the countless fanciful derivations that both Persian and Arab lexicographers indulge in when baulked in tracing an Arabic root. Yet we have in Arabic the verbal root *nabara* ("to raise the voice"), from which such words as *nabr*, *ʔanbara*, or *ʔanabbur* can be regularly formed, although there may be no extant forms of them. Some of the Arabs of Spain must have thought that the word was derived from this root since we occasionally find it written *ʔanbūr* and not *ʔunbūr* by



HARP  
NANGA = NEBEL 'ĀSŪR

PANDORE  
TUNBŪR = NEBEL



them, a form which also occurs in Persian and Hindūstānī. Indeed we find the form *ṭinbūr* as early as Al-Jauharī (d. 1002) which may be a survival of the older *tanbara*.<sup>1</sup>

It is clear therefore that the Egyptians could have borrowed their word *nefer* from a Semitic source such as the Arabic *nabara*, just as they borrowed *kenanaur* (Heb. *kinnōr*), *tebn* (Assyr. *ṭabbalu*), *thupar* (Heb. *shōphar*), and *teb* (Heb. *toph*). Probably the Greeks also borrowed *pandoura* (or *phandoura* as Nikomachos writes it) from the Semites in a form such as *tanbara* or *tunbūr* would furnish. The Arabs at the dawn of Islām would appear to have lost this word or its cognates, and so when they became influenced by Byzantium, they adopted the Greek word *pandoura*, but being unable to pronounce the Greek π or φ, they modified it into *ṭanbūr*.

Let us now return to our instruments.

The sound-chest, as we know from the monuments, did not always take a boat-shaped construction. Sometimes it was round or ovoid, similar to two modern specimens (shown) from India and Morocco, where nature herself has determined the shape since the sound-chests are made of a gourd and a tortoise-shell respectively. They both have skin bellies, but one belongs ethnologically to an earlier stage of culture than the other. In the Moroccan instrument, the tail-piece, upon which the strings are fastened, is inside the sound-chest, and a hole is cut in the belly so as to enable the strings to be fastened to it, a device which may be seen in the ancient Egyptian instruments. In the Indian instrument the tail-piece is outside the sound-chest, as in the modern instruments of this type.

More familiar to us, however, is the pear-shaped sound-chest. This we also find on the later Egyptian monuments as well as on those of Assyria. Two modern specimens of the pear-shaped sound-chest, from Algeria and Tunisia, were next exhibited, both with skin bellies and a primitive tail-piece, and very much like what are shown on the monuments. It was, however, discovered that the substitution of a wooden for a skin belly gave a less strident timbre, and it was this type that became acceptable to Western Europe through the Arabian culture contact about the eighth century. A specimen of a modern wooden-bellied instrument from Tashkent was shown next and stated to be identical with the instrument known as the *ṭanbūr* to-day among the Arabs, Persians, and Turks.

The frets on the fingerboard, and the flat surface of the latter, are worthy of note. When more than one string had to be fingered on the fingerboard, true pitch could not be obtained on a cylindrical neck, and a flat fingerboard had to be introduced. With the introduction of frets, the positions of which were determined by measurement, a perfectly tuned scale could be obtained. We do not read of frets being used by the Greeks, and it is not until the eighth century A.D. that we find them being used

<sup>1</sup> It must be pointed out that one Arab lexicographer, Al-Fayrūmī (ca. 1333), says that *ṭanbūr* belongs to the measure *fun'āl*, i.e. the *nūn* is not a radical. From this it might be argued that the original Arabic word was derived from *ṭabira* ("to perish"), hence *tunbūr*. The pandore, according to the Arab historians, was invented for a sinful purpose by the people of Sodom and Gomorrah who "perished" for their sins.

by the Arabs, who, by the way, at first used a Persian word (*dastān*, pl. *dastānīn*) for them, which probably means that the Arabs borrowed the idea from the Persians. It may be noted *en passant* that our word "fret" and the Arabic *farā* (pl. *furūd*)—"a notch"—are so alike phonetically that the latter is quite likely to have been the original of the former.

The Arabic treatises on music give us the definite ratios for these frets as early as the ninth century, and Al-Fārābī (*d.* 950) describes the fretting of two pandores called the *ṭanbūr al-baghdādī* or *mizānī* and the *ṭanbūr al-khurasānī*. The former was fretted so as to give a scale of quarter tones, and this was arrived at by the theoretical division of a string into forty equal parts. This scale, says Al-Fārābī, belonged to pre-Islāmic times, and the late Dr. Land, the eminent musico-orientalist, suggested that it might even be traced back to the days of Hammurabi. If so, one may ask the question: "What prompted the number forty? Could it have been due to sidereal religion?" One answer is that the Babylonian god Ēa, was the patron deity of music, and his sacred numerical attribute was *forty*.

The other *ṭanbūr* described by Al-Fārābī was fretted with a scale which may have had its origin with Al-Kindī (*d.* 874). Its frets were arranged in the order of two *limmas* and a *comma*. This system was improved by a thirteenth-century Arab music theorist, named Saḥī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min, who was in the service of the last Khalīf of Baghdād. This scale has received the praise of a savant like Helmholtz whilst Sir Hubert Parry says, "Theoretically this is the most perfect scale ever devised." He adds however these words, "Whether it was really used exactly in practice is another matter." I am in a position to state definitely that it was "used exactly in practice," and that the fact is emphasized more than once in the Arabic and Persian treatises of the school of Saḥī al-Dīn.

Before closing may I call attention to the name given to the primitive pandore used in North Africa from the Atlantic to Egypt. It is known as the *gunbri*, with a diminutive *gunibri*, and you will note that the same three radicals *n-b-r* are present. It is mentioned in the plural *qanābir* (*ganābir*) as early as Ibn Battūta (*d.* 1377), whose editors, MM. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, say, strangely enough, that the singular is *qunbarā*.

5th October, 1925.

19 members and one visitor attended this meeting, at which two papers were read: (1) "Deuteronomy, the Post Exilic Theory," by the Rev. E. J. Harris, B.D., and (2) "The Hold" (1 Sam. xxii. 4, etc.), by the Rev. David Stiven, M.C., B.D. This meeting was called upon to record its sense of loss caused by the tragically sudden death of the Rev. James Young, D.D.,

Minister of the North Parish of Paisley, who had been Corresponding Secretary of the Society for many years.<sup>1</sup>

The meeting also received a letter from the Rev. Dr. W. M. Christie of Tiberias, describing the functions connected with the opening of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem, and, after the papers had been read, the Rev. Professor Stevenson submitted photographs of the recently discovered Galilee skull.

## DEUTERONOMY : THE POST-EXILIC THEORY.

BY THE REV. E. J. HARRIS, B.D.

THE identification of Deuteronomy in whole or part with the law book found in the Temple in the eighteenth year of King Josiah has been questioned in recent years by various scholars in England and America as well as on the Continent. Among the assailants of the prevailing view the most thorough-going is Prof. Hölscher of Marburg, who in an article in the *Z.A.W.* for 1922 and elsewhere has denied the pre-exilic origin of Deuteronomy and has assigned the book to the end of the sixth century B.C. His argument is based mainly on the idealistic and impracticable nature of the legislation which in his opinion excludes the possibility of its ever having been adopted by Josiah and the elders of Israel as a law of state. This he illustrates largely from the centralization laws which are the special feature of Deuteronomy. Institutions which were appropriate to the local shrines are transferred *en bloc* to Jerusalem without regard to the practical difficulties in the way. So at the festivals the whole population of the country, men, women, children, slaves, levites, and "strangers," are to present themselves before Yahweh at Jerusalem. The whole countryside is to be denuded of its population while this great mass of people, estimated at 120,000 before the Exile, offer their sacrifices and consume the sacred meal. The same journey to Jerusalem is necessitated, not only by the three great festivals, but on many other occasions throughout the year; at the bringing of tithes (of the various products of the earth which ripen at different times), at the offering of the first-born and the giving of first-fruits. Further, witnesses suspected of perjury by the local judges are to be sent to Jerusalem for examination. All these regulations would in practice cause the greatest difficulty and inconvenience.

Hölscher also points out that the indefinite dating of the festivals, *e.g.* seven weeks from the beginning of the reaping of corn, while natural and adequate for merely local observances, is obviously insufficient if a simultaneous observance throughout the whole country with its varying climatic conditions is demanded.

The same unworldly indifference to practical considerations is shown in the laws over the remission of debt and the release of slaves in the seventh

<sup>1</sup> The Memorial Minute adopted is printed in Appendix I.

year, in those on the duties of a king, and on the conduct of war. The laws on the punishment of idolatry are nothing less than fantastic, having regard to the known state of pre-exilic Israel. The command to destroy whole cities for idolatrous practices would have meant the destruction of Jerusalem itself, with its temple, king and priests.

The permission granted to the country levites to sacrifice at the Jerusalem temple and to share in the offerings implies a remarkable altruism on the part of the Zadokite priests, not warranted from what is known of them from other sources, and is in any event inconsistent with the statements of 2 Kings, chap. xxiii.

As regards the external evidence, the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel in their present form have been subjected to a Deuteronomic redaction. The genuine utterances of these prophets do not show any acquaintance with Deuteronomy, but on the contrary imply that the Deuteronomic legislation was not in force in their day.

The first clear witness to Deuteronomy is given by Malachi and the *terminus ad quem* for the date of the book is found in the memoirs of Nehemiah composed in 433 B.C. Finally, the Elephantine papyri depict a Jewish community in Egypt towards the end of the fifth century in close touch with the home country, but totally unaffected by or indifferent to the Deuteronomic laws both as regards the centralization of worship and the imitation of heathen cults.

Deuteronomy, Hölscher asserts, was not a law of state, but a programme of priestly ideals and demands, composed probably in Jerusalem about 500 B.C. In its ideological character it resembles the Holiness laws of Lev. xvii.-xxvi. and Ezekiel, chaps. xl. ff.

### THE HOLD (1 SAMUEL XXII. 4, ETC.).

BY THE REV. DAVID STIVEN, M.C., B.D.

I. "THE HOLD" figures largely in the accounts of David's movements between the time of his flight from Saul and that of his establishment as King of the Hebrews.

J.'s account is as follows :

- (1) 1 Sam. xx. 24-39—Saul's murderous intent is made known to David by Jonathan.
- (2) 1 Sam. xx. 42 (b)-xxii. 1—David escapes straight to Adullam to be joined there by some friends.
- (3) 1 Sam. xxii. 4—David's parents' safety is ensured with the King of Moab.
- (4) 1 Sam. xxii. 6-xxiii. 6—The slaughter of the priests and deliverance of Keilah.
- (5) 1 Sam. xxiii. 12-13—Keilah becomes unsafe for David.
- (6) The rest of the account is devoted to David's exploits in the Wilderness to the east of the watershed.



II. Headquarters are admitted to have been necessary and the suggestion has been that they were at Adullam = "the Hold." But :

- (1) Adullam is on the west side of the watershed, probably at 'Aid el Ma.
- (2) The slaughter of the priests and the deliverance of Keilah occurred shortly after David's escape.
- (3) David must have rescued Keilah in the character of Saul's Generalissimo. Consequently when the truth about his loss of Saul's favour became known, Keilah was no longer safe for him.
- (4) If Keilah was unsafe, so also must have been Adullam, not far distant.
- (5) 1 Sam. xxvii. 1. Until he became reconciled with the Philistines, David had no place of safety on the west side of the watershed. Therefore the time that elapsed between the deliverance of Keilah and his reconciliation with the Philistines and establishment at Ziklag must have been spent on the eastern side of the watershed. That means that the Headquarters, "the Hold," cannot have been Adullam. They must be sought in the desert land overlooking the Dead Sea.

III. But what of 2 Samuel xxiii. 13-14 ?

- (1) Budde (Polychrome Text) overcomes the difficulty by omitting verse 14 and arranging the others thus : 5-12 ; 17 (b)-38 ; 13-17 (a). This may give sense, but it is not common sense. It would have been an unnecessary foolhardiness to go by Rephaim to Bethlehem from Adullam. The omission therefore takes the point out of the story.
- (2) The subject of the account as it stands is David's mighty men, and primarily his three heroes, Josheb-basshebeth the Tachmonite, Eleazer the son of Dodo, the Ahohite, and Shammah the son of Agee the Hararite. We get not two but three scraps of information about them : in verses 8-12 we have their individual exploits ; in verse 13 (a) we learn that they were his first volunteers coming to him at Adullam, in harvest time (relate 1 Sam. xxiii., 1 to I. 2 and II. 4 of this paper), and in verses 13 (b)-17 (of which verse 14 is the key verse) there is an account of their personal devotion, about the time when David was in "the hold."

IV. Where was "the Hold" ?

The following considerations may help us :

- (1) David's friendship with the King of Moab would bring him near the Moabite borders.
- (2) The exploits are mainly in the Wilderness of Ma'on and the Wilderness of Ziph, south of Jeshimon.
- (3) It could be cut off from Bethlehem.
- (4) The most northerly exploit recorded in connection with it is at Engedi.

- (5) Abigail went down from Ma'on, and to Ma'on and to Carmel David went up (1 Sam. xxv. 6-13-20).  
 (6) The LXX sometimes renders not *περιοχή* but *Μασερέμ*, (1 Sam. xxiii. 14-19, xxiv. 23).

These considerations give a very good ground for claiming that "the Hold" is none other than Masada (מַסָּדָה).

V. Yet Josephus (*B.J.* vii. 8, 3) says of Masada *ἐπὶ ταύτῃ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ψόδομήσατο φρούριον Ἰωνάθης καὶ προσηγόρευσε Μασάδαν, ὕστερον δ' Ἡρώδης τῇ βασιλείᾳ διὰ πολλῆς ἐγένετο σπουδῆς ἢ τοῦ χωρίου κατασκευή.*

- (1) Note the contrast between *πρῶτον* and *ὕστερον* as showing the genesis of the splendid fortress which Herod built.
- (2) The grammar is very loose. We have no warrant for supposing that Jonathan was the first either to use the place as a stronghold or to call the site Masada.
- (3) Josephus himself (*B.J.* iv. 7, 2) gives us other evidence which corrects this supposition. For he says that far before the time of the Maccabees its tactical and strategic importance were recognised, and in a manner admirably suited to our argument. The Sicarii, he says, at the time of John of Gischala seized upon "a fortress οὐ πόρρω Ἱεροσολύμων of surpassing strength, which has been fitted out by the ancient kings both as a place for the safe keeping of property amid the hazards of War and also for their personal protection, which was called Masada." Behind οὐ πόρρω may we have the idea not of distance but degree?—its impregnability was almost *on a par* with that of Jerusalem. At anyrate, the locale of the happenings there is that of the Dead Sea District. This identification of "the Hold" as Masada may give us a fresh standpoint from which to regard the rise of the early Hebrew kingdom.

## REPORT ON THE INAUGURATION OF THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM.

BY THE REV. WM. M. CHRISTIE, D.D.

(SENT BY DR. CHRISTIE TO PRINCIPAL MACALISTER AND  
 HANDED BY HIM TO PROFESSOR STEVENSON.)

THE various functions connected with the Inauguration of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem extended over three days, from the 31st of March to the 2nd of April, 1925.

On the first of these days the representatives of the nations and of the universities of the world were invited to an "At Home" at the Government House, and were there received by the High Commissioner (Sir Herbert Samuel), Lord Balfour and Lord Allenby. This great meeting

afforded an excellent opportunity for the visitors becoming acquainted with one another, and thus created facilities for the intercourse of the following days. Personally I had the opportunity of renewing the acquaintance of scholars I had casually met on former occasions, either in Russia or Palestine.

On the Wednesday afternoon (1st April) the Great Inauguration Meeting was held in the amphitheatre on the eastern slope of Mount Scopus, from which position there could be seen the place where the Israelites first entered Canaan, and from which mount also Titus had in the year 70 A.D. delivered his attack against Jerusalem. Over 10,000 spectators were assembled in the amphitheatre. The platform was reserved for the Jerusalem University party and for the foreign university delegates. The latter formed up in the University building, and, fully robed, went in procession to the platform, the first in the line being the Rev. J. G. Duncan, delegate of Aberdeen University. Lord Balfour himself represented Edinburgh, and I had a place between Geneva and Goettingen. As soon as we were seated the University party arrived, and Dr. Weizmann took the chair. The Chief Rabbis of London and Jerusalem took part in the proceedings, and speeches were delivered by Sir Herbert Samuel, Lord Allenby and Lord Balfour, who formally declared the University to be now open.

In the evening the representatives of the nations and the delegates of the universities met for dinner as the guests of the Zionist Organisation, and on that occasion the greetings of the various world states were received and speeches delivered by rabbis from different parts of the world.

On Thursday (2nd April) we again met at the University, and the foundation stone of the Physical and Mathematical Departments was laid by Dr. Weizmann in the presence of Lord Balfour and named after Professor Einstein.

Thereafter we proceeded to the Government House, on the Mount of Olives, and in the Great Hall addresses were delivered in the name of the universities of the world. Again Aberdeen took precedence. As delegate of Glasgow I had prepared a short address in Hebrew, and this I delivered when my turn came.

I expressed my regret at the absence of our learned and honoured Principal, as well as the honour I felt in being chosen to fill his place and that of the members of the Senatus of the University of Glasgow. I had rejoiced all my days in the blessings our land had received from the Jews, and in the light that had come from Israel to the Gentiles that dwell in the isles of the ocean (west), and I had looked forward to the day of Israel's liberation. The words in our language were insufficient to set forth my love and the love of the people of Scotland to Mount Zion, but I would venture to express our desires in these few small words: We seek peace to Israel and prosperity to the new University. Peace be within thy walls and prosperity within thy palaces. May Zion be the perfection of beauty, and Jerusalem a praise in all the earth. May the Lord bless thee and guard thee now and evermore. Amen.

The outlook for the new University seems bright and hopeful. It has been cordially admitted to a place among the universities of the world. The buildings are already sufficiently advanced to be fit for daily use. A number of able and distinguished scholars have been appointed professors, and large sums of money have been promised for the completion of the amphitheatre and the building and endowment of several departments. The Zionist officials and professors are liberal, broadminded men, no longer rabbinical but biblical Hebrews, and they treat the Christian and even the Christian minister and missionary with respect and deference.

I rejoice in the opportunity given me of sharing in this great day in Israel's history, and most cordially thank the members of the *Senatus* of the University of Glasgow for the honour they have done me.

19th April, 1926.

There were 13 members present at this meeting. (1) The Rev. Hugh Duncan submitted the first of a Series of Surveys of Oriental Studies. Mr. Duncan's survey dealt with *The Harvard Theological Review* for the years 1919-1923 and referred specially to an article in vol. xv. (1922) by Dr. G. F. Moore, entitled "Intermediaries in Jewish Theology." (2) A paper entitled "Jeremiah as Patriot and Statesman," by the Rev. Professor Gilroy, D.D., was read by the Rev. Professor Stevenson, D.Litt., D.D. Professor Stevenson contributed a supplement dealing with some of the problems that surround the Book of Jeremiah, such as the prophet's relationship to the Deuteronomic reformation and the "Threat of the Scythians."

## SURVEY OF ORIENTAL STUDIES.

### I. THE HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

BY THE REV. HUGH DUNCAN, B.D.

IN G. F. Moore's article entitled "Intermediaries in Jewish Theology" (*H.R.* vol. 15, 1922, pp. 41-85) the meanings of the terms *memra*, *shekinah* and *metatron* are discussed. It is argued that any comparison of the term *memra* with the Christian *Logos* is erroneous and misleading. The word *memra* is merely a Targum word, so that its significance is to be discovered from a review and classification of its uses in the Targums. After such a review the writer says (p. 53): "The sum of the whole matter is that nowhere in these Targums is *memra* a 'being' of any kind or in any sense, whether conceived personally as an angel employed in communication

with men, or as a philosophically impersonal created potency . . . (nor is it) God himself in certain modes of self-manifestation. . . . The appearance of personality which in many places attaches to the *memra* is due solely to the fact that the phrase 'the memra of Y.' (and others like it are) circumlocution(s) for 'God,' 'the Lord' or the like."

Of the *Shekinah*, or the Presence, it is said that it "is not something that takes the place of God, but a more reverent way of saying 'God.'"

A long discussion of the term *metatron* and of its synonym *metator* leads to the conclusion that it comes from the Latin *metator*, an officer who chooses and marks out the site of a camp, and that it became the proper name of the angel to whom Israel was a special care, and, finally, was identified with the *Shekinah* and in theosophical speculation became an emanation from the Absolute.

W. B. S.

## JEREMIAH AS PATRIOT AND STATESMAN.

By THE REV. PROFESSOR JAMES GILROY, D.D.

THE policy of the prophet Jeremiah was ultimately based upon his conception of a divine or providential purpose manifested in Judah's history. To be true to this purpose was patriotism and statesmanship, to surrender it was disloyalty to God and treachery to humanity. In answering the questions of his day the prophet, accordingly, kept before his mind the world purpose of his people and how that was to be attained. The Jewish people were set as a lamp that was meant to become the light of the world. Their continued existence as an organised national unit and their power of maintaining and spreading their faith were alone of primary consequence, the loss of everything else was comparatively indifferent.

Thus the value of national independence and the duty of resistance to the Babylonians were to be determined by reference to the divine mission and world purpose of the Jewish people. Jeremiah believed that Babylon as overlord of Judah would not interfere with the Jewish religion. On the other hand, resistance to its power could have only one result, national ruin. It was right, therefore, and necessary to sacrifice national independence in order to preserve the national faith. In loyalty to this conviction Jeremiah went as far as to assail the policy of his people's government and even to tamper with the loyalty of its soldiers. Yet he did not urge his policy as ideally the best. On the contrary, he believed that some day God would assert His power over the Babylonians and would restore the independence of the Jewish people. He acquiesced in a sacrifice of national independence only as the best that could be achieved for the time being.

Professor Welch, in his *Religion of Israel*, maintains that when Jeremiah counselled his people to submit to the Babylonians he wished them to understand definitely and finally that their religion had nothing to do with

nationalism or with the soil of Judah. Religion, their religion, was unconditioned by land and race, was a spiritual force and privilege that could be exercised and enjoyed anywhere. This view does actually reflect in some measure the mind of Jeremiah (as shown by his letter in ch. xxix.), yet it seems to go also beyond his intention. If nationalism be not necessary to religion, neither is it essentially antagonistic to it. Nationalism, indeed, may help and promote the expression of religion and its dissemination. Jeremiah teaches us that true patriotism and wise statesmanship are always to be considered in terms of the providential purposes of nations, and that our words and deeds, for our nation and race, are to be controlled and inspired, not by temporary needs, but by permanent ideals.

4th October, 1926.

The meeting was attended by 14 members and two papers were read: (1) "Kuṣr Bint el Melek," by the Rev. Dr. Christie, read by the Rev. Professor Stevenson, and (2) "The Finding of the Galilee Skull," by the Rev. T. Crouther Gordon, D.F.C., B.D.

### KUṢR BINT EL-MELEK.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM MELVILLE CHRISTIE, D.D.

HEROD ANTIPAS, tetrarch of Galilee and Perea (4 B.C.-39 A.D.), built Tiberias as his capital between the years A.D. 18 and 22. The palace there was called "the Golden House," and became the chief residence of Antipas and afterwards of his successor, Herod Agrippa I.

The ruin of the palace lies on the summit of a great rock to the west of ancient Tiberias and is now named Kuṣr bint el-melek (the palace of the king's daughter). There is no tradition regarding the origin of that name.

Herod Antipas (in the Gospels and Acts called simply Herod or Herod the tetrarch) was the ruler who imprisoned John the Baptist and ordered his execution (A.D. 28). Josephus (*Antiq.* 9. 5. 2) says that the place of John's imprisonment and execution was Machaerus (on the southern border of Perea). Assuming, however, that John's imprisonment followed the flight of the first wife of Antipas to her father, the Arabian king Aretas, Machaerus could scarcely be used for John's imprisonment, because, according to another statement of Josephus himself (*Antiq.* 18. 5. 1),<sup>1</sup> it was just then subject to this unfriendly king. Still less could John's execution take place there later, at a time when (according to the Gospel narratives) Herodias was fully and publicly installed as Antipas' second wife, and when, therefore, the breach with Aretas was complete.

<sup>1</sup> The text here assumed is, however, uncertain. See Schürer's *Geschichte*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., i. p. 436, note 20.

These considerations also exclude the possibility of the feast on Herod's birthday (Mark vi. 21) taking place at Machaerus, which in any case was an unlikely spot to be chosen for the entertainment of the nobles of Galilee, who were present (Mark vi. 21).

On the other hand, the Golden House at Tiberias satisfies all the requirements of the case. It was Antipas' usual residence, most accessible to the Galilean nobles and not far from Bethabara, the scene of John's preaching (John i. 28), if Bethabara lay north-east of Beisan (as Conder has argued).<sup>1</sup> Christ's crossing the sea of Galilee after he had heard of John's execution (Matt. xiv. 13) also suggests that the execution had taken place somewhere near that sea.

Finally, if the "Golden House" was probably the scene of John's death, may not the king's daughter, in the modern name, be Salome herself, Herodias' daughter?

After Herod Antipas and Herodias had left the Golden House (A.D. 40), never to return, it passed into the possession of Herod Agrippa I, a brother of Herodias (Josephus, *Antiq.* 7. 1-2). There in A.D. 43 the new king entertained a company of five other kings at one time (*Antiq.* 19. 8. 1). This is the Agrippa who built the third wall of Jerusalem (*Antiq.* 19. 7. 2) and is mentioned in Acts, ch. xii.

In the year A.D. 67, during the Jewish revolt, the Golden House was plundered and completely destroyed by a popular leader named Jesus ben Saphia (Josephus, *Vita* 12 and 13). It has been a ruin ever since.

## THE FINDING OF THE GALILEE SKULL.\*

BY THE REV. T. CROUTHER GORDON, D.F.C., B.D.

A LOOK at the map of Palestine will help to explain why the British School of Archaeology chose the Wadi 'Amud for exploration in the hope of finding remains of palaeolithic age. The Wadi 'Amud runs from the centre of Galilee into the Plain of Genesaret, a fertile area, particularly suitable to the needs of primitive man, with water and a food supply at hand. The limestone cliffs on either side of the Wadi abound in caves of all sizes which offer great security of dwelling. At the Wadi, moreover, two great routes of communication intersect.

The choice was not made merely in accordance with an initial speculation; for, without using the spade at all, one can see many megalithic constructions all round the district. At Kurn Hattin these large stone erections attract attention, and at Chorazin there are no fewer than 300 dolmens.

<sup>1</sup> The name "Bethabara" has been found only at the ford near Beisan, and it is worthy of note that the P.E.F. collected 10,000 names in Palestine. According to another reading (accepted by A.V.) the name of the place was Bethany. It is said that "Bethabara" and "Bethany" may mean the same place, the one name denoting "Ford" (House of Crossing), and the other "Ferry," "House of the ship." Origen could not find Bethany and altered the text.

\* See also, now, F. Turville-Petre's *Researches in Prehistoric Galilee* (1927).

These were the chief reasons that decided the School to begin excavations in the caves of the Wadi 'Amud.

The expedition was put under the charge of Mr. Turville-Petre, and I was asked to take the second command. The first cave to be examined was the Mugharat Emirah, or Cave of the Princess, which, strictly speaking, consists of three recesses in a limestone bluff standing a quarter of a mile from the mouth of the gorge itself and 120 yards from the east bank of the stream that comes from the Wadi. The floor deposits of the smallest cave supplied no evidence whatever, and those of the middle cave had been so seriously disturbed that palaeolithic flints were found on the surface and Arab and Roman potsherds in large numbers down to the rock floor. The evidence of stratification was therefore quite useless. A trench across the outside terrace, however, showed a crust deposit containing potsherds of every period from mediaeval Arab back to neolithic. Below this level there was a stratum of large blocks of fallen stone, while beneath this and resting on the bedrock there was a homogeneous layer of dry clayey soil. This clayey deposit proved to be a palaeolithic level, quite undisturbed. It provided no pottery of any kind, but contained flint implements, cores, waste chips, and hammer stones. The blades frequently show signs of usage and some are retouched along one edge. There are small circular scrapers and points worked carefully on a narrow flake. These smaller implements are not the typical Tardenoisian points found in Europe, but belong to the same culture as the larger ones, differing only in size and in the delicacy of the workmanship. Some pieces of pointed and rounded bone also were found, and from many fragments of unworked bone secured it should in time be possible to determine the fauna of the period.

The largest shelter of the three was then examined, but it merely duplicated the evidence.

All the implements that were found in this group of shelters pointed to the palaeolithic period, and on comparison with the European cultures they seemed to have most affinity with the typical Aurignacian and Magdalenian types.

Having exhausted the evidence of these caves, the expedition proceeded some 150 yards up the gorge of the Wadi 'Amud itself to where, high up in the cliffs on the north side of the stream, the largest and most convenient cave in the neighbourhood is situated. It is called the Mugharat ez-Zuttiyeh, or the cave of the robbers, and is 70 feet above the Cave of the Princess, and 110 feet above the present level of the Sea of Galilee. It is 26 metres in depth, 20 metres broad, and from the level of the modern floor to the roof it measures over 60 feet.

A trench cut from the front of the cave to the back revealed the presence in the floor deposits of palaeolithic implements, while a section taken at right angles to the trench showed a series of strata ranging back from the modern period, through Arab, pre-Arab, Byzantine, Roman and Bronze Age occupations, till at a depth of 1.10 of a metre the strata suddenly



changed. Large blocks of fallen rock appeared in the grey earth for a depth of 15 cm. ; and at a depth of 1.35 metres from the surface a reddish alluvial soil began in which we soon found an abundant supply of palaeolithic flints. This layer extended right down to the bedrock of the cave ; in some places it was about 90 cm. deep, in others more, according to the configuration of the rock floor. A great part of this lower stratum was made up of a hard conglomerate, necessitating the use of the pick for excavation. In it were found many thousands of well-worked flint implements and a considerable quantity of bone.

On Tuesday, 16th June, 1925, just after breakfast, one of the workmen extracted the frontal bone of a skull from this stratum. It was lying beneath two large pieces of rock that leaned against each other towards the mouth of the cave. It was surrounded by a large number of the flint instruments that were so typical of this layer ; and a more thorough sifting of the soil revealed, first, the right malar bone, then the right sphenoid bone. These all fitted in precisely to the frontal bone and to each other. The way in which the two pieces of rock were placed together shows deliberate purpose, and the fact that the bones are fossilised along the sutural edges just as completely as on the outer surfaces shows that the bones were deposited separately. The frontal bone is extremely thick. The most notable feature of the entire remains, however, is the enormous development of the supra-orbital ridges which show the massive "torus-form" ; this is the great feature of the Neanderthal skulls of Europe. On the crest of the frontal bone there are traces of healed injuries or of disease.

The flint implements found in this stratum with the skull are of a different and more primitive type than those found in the Cave of the Princess ; and though the precise succession of palaeolithic cultures in Palestine is not sufficiently well known to us for accurate relation to those of Europe, the culture known in Europe as Mousterian is that which comes closest to that found in association with the skull. But it is not safe to identify this culture with the Mousterian in Europe, for while all Neanderthal type skulls in Europe have the depressed platycephalic form, this one has a narrow lofty head. It is worth remembering, too, that while the La Chapelle man is calculated to have had a brain volume of 1600 cubic centimetres, the brain volume indicated by the Galilee skull, according to Sir Arthur Keith, measures only about 1400 cubic centimetres.

*12th April, 1927.*

Twenty members were present and two papers were read : (1) "An Account of the International Archaeological Conference held in Syria in 1926," by the Rev. Professor A. R. S. Kennedy, D.D., and (2) "Survey of Oriental Studies, II. *Der Islam*, 1920-1926," by the Rev. Richard Bell, D.D. In the course of the

meeting Mr. Robert Morris submitted some notes he had been asked to prepare on "The Origin of the Arabic Numerals" in reference to the paper on this subject by Mr. John Cameron, *Transactions*, vol. iv. p. 9 ff; and at the close of the meeting, the Rev. Professor Stevenson, D.Litt., D.D., exhibited and commented upon a series of ancient printed Hebrew Bibles recently acquired by the University. His observations have been expanded by him into an article which is printed below.

## THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ARCHAEOLOGY—

BEYROUT AND JERUSALEM—APRIL 1926.

BY PROFESSOR A. R. S. KENNEDY, D.D.

THE above congress was organized by the Department of Antiquities of the two mandated territories of Syria and Palestine under the patronage, and with the financial assistance, of their respective governments. The formal opening took place on 8th April in the École des Arts et Métiers in Beyrout under the presidency of M. de Jouvenel, the High Commissioner of Syria. The feature of the morning proceedings was a lecture by M. René Dussaud of Paris on the recent epoch-making excavations at Byblus, the ancient Gebal. The Byblus finds, including the famous sarcophagus of Ahiiram, King of Byblus, referred to below, now adorn the museum of Beyrout.

While a number of important and interesting papers were read, mainly by French archaeologists, the chief object of the Congress, as explained by the President, Père Dhorme, the distinguished head of the Dominican Convent of St. Stephen in Jerusalem, was to enable the delegates "to see for themselves ('faire toucher du doigt et de l'oeil' is his graphic expression) the admirable work which has been done since the war at the various sites excavated in Syria and Palestine." With this end in view the greater part of the time was spent in visiting such famous sites as Palmyra, Baalbek and Byblus in Syria, Megiddo, Beisan, Capernaum and others in Palestine and Jerash in Transjordan, not forgetting Jerusalem itself.

The first excursion was to Palmyra, to which the delegates were conveyed by rail and motor via Tripoli and Homs, and where they were the guests of the Government of Syria. The ruins of the city of Zenobia form the most imposing monument of antiquity in the near East. A long day was spent in inspecting the great temple of Bel, the colonnaded streets, and the interesting tombs and funeral towers. Returning to Tripoli, the delegates made a delightful excursion to Kal'at-el Husn (Kerak des Chevaliers), the best preserved of all the Crusaders' fortresses in Syria.

Wednesday, 14th April, was made memorable by a visit to Jebel (Byblus), where the "Congressistes" were shown over the excavations

made by M. Montet of Strassburg, with results that have thrown much new light on the relations between Egypt and Phoenicia in the third millenium B.C. The necropolis of the kings was visited, including the burial chamber of King Ahiram, whose sarcophagus, now transferred to the Beyrout Museum, shows an inscription in early Phoenician characters, 400 years older than those of the Moabite Stone (c. 850 B.C.). On the same day, on the way back to Beyrout, the well-known memorials of the kings of Egypt and Assyria were inspected on the rocks above the mouth of the Dog River.

The following day, 15th April, was devoted to Baalbek with its world-famous temples, which have frequently been described.

On the 16th the delegates proceeded to Palestine, visiting Sidon on the way. The next two crowded days saw them at such well-known sites as Megiddo, where they were received by Dr. Fisher and his colleagues, Ta'anach and Beisan, the Bethshean of the Old Testament, where Mr. Alan Rowe explained the main results of his work.

One of the most vivid memories of those strenuous days is the visit to the ruined synagogues of Capernaum (Tell Hum) and Chorazin. At Capernaum the devoted archaeologist, Père Orfali, explained in detail the plan of the synagogue, now in part rebuilt under his supervision. To the grief of all, this distinguished scholar was killed in a motor smash on the following day.

Tuesday, 20th April, was another crowded day, for it included visits to the excavated portions of Samaria—its forum, the temple of Augustus built by Herod, the temples of Omri and Ahab; to Balata, on the east of Nablus, the site of ancient Shechem, where Professor Sellin and his colleagues showed the visitors the work of excavation then being strenuously carried on; and finally to Tell-en-Nisbeh, near Ramallah, which the excavations of Dr. Badé have gone far to show is the real site of Mizpah.

On the following day the second part of the Congress was opened in the Convent of St. Etienne under the presidency of Lord Plumer, the British High Commissioner. A considerable part of the paper being summarized was naturally devoted to an account of recent archaeological discovery in the Holy City, such as the excavations of the Palestine Exploration Fund (Professor Macalister and Rev. J. Garrow Duncan) on the summit of Ophel, those of M. Weill at the south end, and the archaeological problem of the hour, the course of the so-called Third Wall begun by Agrippa I, and hurriedly finished by the Jews on the outbreak of the revolt against Rome in A.D. 66, of which considerable portions have recently been laid bare. On the solution of this problem depends the larger question of the authenticity of the traditional sites of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre.

The visit to Jerash with its well-preserved temple, theatres and colon-naded street, and that to Petra, which the writer did not attempt, received bare mention in the paper as read.

SURVEY OF ORIENTAL STUDIES, *DER ISLAM*, 1920-1923.

BY THE REV. RICHARD BELL, D.D.

IN 1920 there is to be noted (1) an article on the history of the kingdom of Socoto, Northern Nigeria, and the rising of the Fulahs or Fulbe that led to the establishment of the kingdom and of a reformed Islam among the Haussa peoples. (2) Another by J. Hess on adjectives of colour used by the Arabs. Fifty-two of these were collected with the assistance of a Bedouin. Adjectives describing colour of hair and colour of horses are also given. (3) Julius Ruske publishes some Arabic texts giving the method of counting with the fingers. The system is quite different from the European. (4) The editor, Hans Ritter, publishes in text, transliteration and translation some popular love songs he collected in Iraq. In these the beloved is referred to in the masculine form, the implication being that the feminine forms would offend decency. (5) A number of Arab street cries collected by Enno Littmann. (6) Carl Clemen on the original meaning of the pilgrimage. Magical explanations are suggested for most of the ceremonies now grouped together in the pilgrimage, including the stone-throwing.

In 1921 (1) Franz Babinger writes on Badr ad Din, centre of a Shi'ite Sufi communistic movement which came to a head in Wallachia (of interest also for the history of the contact between Islam and Christianity)—an important article, added to by Babinger in the issue for 1922. (2) Ernst Herzfeld writes on Khorasan, its cultural history and significance, its antiquities and their implications, its relations to Persian culture and religion—an important article.

In 1922 (1) Sobernheim gives the text and translation, with occasional notes, of twenty-five inscriptions dating from 605/1208 to 919/1513 from the Citadel of Damascus. (2) P. Kahle, on the history of Alexandria, is chiefly concerned with the canals which in successive ages connected Alexandria with the Rosetta arm of the Nile. (3) P. Jensen, on the life of Muhammad, traces parallels between it and the life of David, and suggests the possibility of Muhammad being a merely legendary character. (4) Prof. Ahrens (Rostock) writes on magic squares as dealt with in the chief Arabic work on the subject, the *Shams al Ma'arif* of al Būni. Ahrens is a mathematician and deals with the mathematical structure of these squares. (5) is an instalment of the Critical Bibliography which was intended to be a feature of *Der Islam*. This instalment covers the fields of Mathematics, Natural Science and Medicine, and contains 206 entries.

In 1923 (1) the Critical Bibliography is continued, covering: Religion of Islam in general, law, philosophy, superstition, magic and astrology; mysticism and sainthood; relation to other religions; and modernism. (2) R. Strothmann makes a study of the literary personality of Zaid ben Ali, reputed founder of the Zaidi sects still surviving in South Arabia and West Africa. (3) Nöldeke writes on the spread of Shi'ism. He criticises

views expressed elsewhere by Babinger. (4) Eduard Goossens treats of the origin and meaning of the mysterious letters with which certain surahs of the Qur'ān begin—an important article.

In 1924 no volume was published.

In 1925 (1) H. H. Schaeder gives a study of Hasan al Basri, with the sub-title *Studies in the Early History of Islam*. (2) Bergsträsser offers a slightly new orientation on the beginning of Moslem Law. (3) E. L. Dietrich supplies a long study of the personality of Muhammad Achmed, the Mahdi of the Sudan, founded upon Arab sources. (4) Joachim Hein has a long article upon the making of bows and the practice of Archery among the Turks.

In 1926 (1) Hein's discussion of Archery among the Turks is continued. (2) Sobernheim publishes some inscriptions from Aleppo. (3) Joseph Schacht discusses Moslem literature dealing with *hiyal* or devices by which the ideal law and the necessities of practice can be reconciled.

## NOTE ON THE ORIGIN OF THE ARABIC NUMERALS.




BY ROBERT MORRIS, M.A.

IN the latter part of his paper in our *Transactions*, vol. iv. p. 9 ff., on the Origins of the Arabic Numerals, Mr. John Cameron touches on the possibility of the figures 4 to 9 being phonetic symbols; but he cannot trace any connection between their phonetic values and the names of the letters of the alphabet which they resemble.

I suggest that Mr. Cameron may have considered only the Sanskrit words for these numbers—*chatur* (4), *pañchan* (5), *shash* (6), *saptan* (7), *ashtan* (8) and *navan* (9). But it must be remembered that the use of symbols for numbers was developed, if not invented, by Buddhist writers and monks, and that the Buddhist writings are not in Sanskrit but in Prākṛit, a younger sister or daughter language of the Sanskrit. In Prākṛit, then, these numbers are *chattāri*, *pañcha*, *chha*, *satta*, *aṭṭha*, *naa*. The initials of these words are *cha*, *pa*, *chha*, *sa*, *a*, *n* (since vowels not initial are not written separately as in the European alphabets, but are combined with the preceding consonant). The figures 4 to 9 and the letters just referred to are, in the present Nāgari alphabet:

Figure—४ ५ ६ ७ ८ ९

Letter—च प छ स ञ न

If the bar across the top of each letter be omitted, as it is in some scripts, a close resemblance between some of the letters and of the figures may be seen. In some of the more archaic scripts there is a closer resemblance. For instance, in Vengi inscriptions of the fourth century *sa* is  and *cha* is . A Chalukhyan 8 is .

The resemblance between the Nāgari and Arabic forms can be seen, and that between them and the modern European forms. In even modern Continental cursive scripts 5 is nearer to the Indian form than to our printed one.

As to the cipher, I suggest that it grew gradually out of the numeral ten, Sanskrit *daśan*, Prākṛit *daśa*. The Nāgari *da* is द and 0 is ०. An old Chera form of *da* is ൟ. With this may be compared the ten of old Tamil (based on the Sanskrit alphabet)—ௐ.

An ancient practice common to many Oriental nations was to write multiples of ten as 2 10, 3 10, 4 10. It cannot at present be proved, but it seems quite probable that the ten (*da*) became a mere cipher a thousand years ago. We have as an analogy the modern tendency of certain South Indian scripts, and (I believe) of the Japanese.

### RABBINICAL BIBLES IN THE LIBRARY OF GLASGOW UNIVERSITY.<sup>1</sup>

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR W. B. STEVENSON, D.LITT., D.D.

RABBINICAL Bibles, or the Great Rabbinical Bibles, are so named because of the prominent place given in them to the Commentaries of the Medieval Rabbis. In Hebrew they are simply called the Great Bibles (מקראות גדולות). The Scripture texts are printed in both Hebrew and Aramaic in parallel columns with vowels inserted. The first of these Bibles was due to the enterprise of Daniel Bomberg (Bombergi),<sup>2</sup> the great Venetian printer. His editor was Felix Pratensis (Fra Felix da Prato), a Jew who became a Christian monk.<sup>3</sup> Four Jewish printers were brought to Venice for the work, and came only upon condition that they should be exempted from wearing the hated yellow cap. It was a difficult and a costly matter to obtain permission to print any Hebrew book in Venice at this time.<sup>4</sup>

*First Rabbinical Bible* (4 vols. 2°, Venice, 1517).

The date of the completion of the work is precisely given in the colophon or note at the end of the Book of Chronicles, as 27th Kislev 278 (רע"ז), i.e. 11th December, 1517 (cf. Ginsburg, p. 927). The date of vol. 1, given

<sup>1</sup> In this article the following contractions are used: Ginsburg for C. D. Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*, London 1897; Strack for H. L. Strack, *Einführung in das Alte Testament*,<sup>2</sup> Munich 1898; J. E. for *Jewish Encyclopedia*, article on Bible Editions.

<sup>2</sup> He was a native of Antwerp and son of Cornelius Bomberg of Amsterdam. Throughout his life he was a Christian. Sanuto in 1525 calls him "Daniele da Norimbergo" (H. F. Brown, p. 105). Is the name Bomberg connected with Nürnberg? Dr. J. M. Clark (Glasgow University) suggests that the name might come from Bamberg, a town near Nürnberg.

<sup>3</sup> See Dr. Robert Kilgour's article as cited in note <sup>2</sup>, p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> Horatio F. Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press*, London 1891.

in the Latin dedication on the back of the title-page, is 1517 (Ginsburg, p. 927). On the title-pages of vols. 2 and 3 we find "the 16th year of the Duke (Doge) Leonardo Loredano," and this same date is also given in the colophon above mentioned. The printing of the work, or at least its publication, seems, therefore, to have fallen within the limits of one year (1517), and indeed, since the official beginning of the year in Venice was 1st March, more precisely between 1st March and 11th December, 1517.<sup>1</sup>

Ginsburg gives a very full account of this edition of the Hebrew Bible, noting, amongst its principal features, that *Qaryan* were printed in it for the first time, and that the Christian divisions of Samuel, Kings, Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles, into two books each, were now first indicated in a Hebrew Bible. Targums of the Prophets and Kethubhim (excluding Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles) were also printed here for the first time, and the first edition of the Jerusalem Targum of the Pentateuch (the fragmentary Jerusalem Targum II) was published as one of several appendixes to vol. 4.<sup>2</sup>

Glasgow University Library possesses vols. 3 and 4 of this Bible. In vol. 3 a considerable number of leaves have been misplaced in binding. In the commentary on Daniel, ch. xi., several occurrences of the words Roman and Romans have been deleted by a censor with red ink and have afterwards been written on the margin (similarly in the commentary on Psalm cxxxvii).<sup>3</sup>

A remarkable feature of the Library copy of vol. 4 is its omission of the Latin text of the "privilege" granted by Leo X, which is printed in Ginsburg's copies at the foot of fol. 211 A. Obviously such a note and, still more, the Latin dedication to the Pope, on the back of the title of vol. 1, would make these volumes unacceptable to Jewish purchasers. Perhaps certain copies were printed for the use of Jews without these Christian elements. Is there any known copy of vol. 1 that lacks the Latin preface as the Glasgow copy of vol. 4 lacks the Latin privilege?

The appendixes to vol. 4 enumerated by Ginsburg (p. 944 f.) are also entirely wanting in the Glasgow copy. This may be merely an imperfection. Yet possibly the Library volume is an early copy printed for a special purpose, perhaps for the use of the censor, or completed before it was decided to publish the material of the appendixes.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The date of publication is given variously in the text-books, e.g. 1516-17 (Ginsburg, p. 926; Strack, p. 184); 1517-18 (J. E. Buhl, *Canon and Text of O.T.* p. 84); 1516-18 (König, *Einführung in das A.T.* p. 54). Buxtorf in the preface to his *Rabbinical Bible* says it was begun (*inchoatum*) in 1515 and finished in 1517.

<sup>2</sup> An admirable account of this Bible and its editor has been given by Dr. Robert Kilgour in the *Transactions* of the Society, vol. 4, pp 47-51.

<sup>3</sup> My attention was first drawn to these points by my friend Mr. F. B. Rockstro. The volumes are small folios; vol. 3 measures 33.9 cm. x 24.6 cm., vol. 4 is 33.8 cm. x 24.4 cm.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. F. B. Rockstro has kindly examined the British Museum copy for me and reports that a new series of sheets and signatures starts with the first appendix, and that the appendixes have been printed in two parts with separate signatures (see colophon at the very end of the volume). He also first suggested to me that the Glasgow Library copy was printed earlier than Ginsburg's copies.

*Second Rabbinical Bible* (4 vols. 2°, Venice, 1524-25).

This is the famous Bible edited by Jacob ben Chayim,<sup>1</sup> which, on its margin and in 121 pages of appendix, gives the first printed edition of the Jewish Massorah. Samuel, Kings, Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles are each divided plainly into two separate books. The commentaries on Proverbs and Ezra-Nehemiah, which are ascribed to Ibn Ezra, are really the work of Moses Qimchi (Ginsburg, p. 962 f.).

The date on which the printing began was 25th (כ"ה) Kislev (285 (ר"פ)), i.e. 21st November, 1524 (title-page, vol. 2), and the date of its completion was 24th (כ"ד) Tishri 286 (ר"פ), i.e. 11th October, 1525 (see note at the foot of the last page of the Book of Chronicles, vol. 4). Further evidence regarding the date is given below.

The design on the title-page of vol. 1 is a great gateway with a rounded arch, over which have been set, in Hebrew, the words "the Holy Gate of Jehovah." The same gateway is reproduced on the title-page of vol. 3. The title-pages of vols. 2 and 4 exhibit the design of another gate with a square top.

The University Library has a complete copy of this Bible in excellent preservation. At the end of its first volume the "Jerusalem Targum," as published in vol. 4 of the third Rabbinical Bible, has been bound in (see further p. 47). In vol. 3 the commentary of Ibn Ezra at the end of Daniel has been severely censored in red ink. The title-page of vol. 3 is in a particularly fine state.

Following the title-page of vol. 1 are six folios (12 pages) of preliminary matter, separately paged, of which Ginsburg gives a summary (p. 960). Ben Chayim's introduction to the Hebrew Bible, which has been edited and translated by Ginsburg as a separate work (London, 1864-65), and Ibn Ezra's introduction to the Pentateuch, are parts of this material.

In vol. 4 there are 66 folios at the end of the volume, the contents of which are not fully described by Ginsburg,<sup>2</sup> of which, therefore, a summary may be given here: (1) the Massorah Magna in alphabetical order (121 pp.), along with which, on the top and bottom margins of the first 65 pages, goes a treatise on the vowel points and accents; <sup>3</sup> (2) a list of the differences between the readings of Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali (5 pp.); (3) a list of divergences between "eastern" and "western" readings (2 pp.), including 1½ columns of matter similar to that of next section; (4) Massoretic lists of various textual peculiarities (1½ pp.); (5) שְׁעַר הַנְּגִינוֹת; (6) two poems by Joseph Elijah.

In the first of the poems just mentioned, the date of the completion of the printing of the Bible is given as Tishri of the year 286 and October of the year 1525. In the second poem the date of the beginning of the work is given as falling in A.D. 1524 and the date of the completion as being 24th Tishri 286 (see above).

<sup>1</sup> A Jew born in Tunis about 1470; said to have become a Christian late in life.

<sup>2</sup> Page 963 f. (where 65 folios should be 66 folios).

<sup>3</sup> Attributed to Moses (ben Yom Tob), Naqdan (J.E.).



*Third Rabbinical Bible* (4 vols. 2°, Venice, 1546-48).<sup>1</sup>

This was regarded by Bomberg as a second edition of Ben Chayim's Bible (title-page of vol. 4), which it closely follows. The date of the completion of the printing was 4th Tishri of the year אש"ן (309), i.e. 6th September, 1548 (note at the end of the Book of Chronicles). The editor was Cornelio Adelkind of the house of Levi (same note).<sup>2</sup>

The close connection between Adelkind's Bible and that of Ben Chayim may be illustrated from vol. 4, of which alone there is a copy in the University Library.<sup>3</sup> The design of the gateway on Ben Chayim's title-page (vol. 4) has been exactly reproduced, only the letterpress being somewhat altered. Space has been found within the limits of Ben Chayim's pages for the addition of Rashi's commentaries on Proverbs, Job and Daniel, by printing these in very small type on the outside margins. On the other hand, the whole Book of Chronicles has been re-set in order to include David Qimchi's commentary and to give it the same prominence as Rashi's. The result is an extension of six folios (from 31 to 37). The printed matter between Job and Megilloth has also been spread out from one page to three. Other novelties are the printing at the head of each page of the numbers of the Vulgate chapters and in the Psalter of the numbers of the Psalms. Nehemiah is now completely separated from Ezra, and 1 Chronicles from 2 Chronicles.

After the end of 2 Chronicles the sequence of "signatures" is continued for eight more folios, which are separately numbered on the outer top corners by means of Hebrew letters. These contain the (fragmentary) "Jerusalem Targum" of the Pentateuch, printed in our library copy on thick paper with black ink (15 pp.). Another, much poorer, copy of this Targum is bound into vol. 1 of the Library copy of Ben Chayim's Bible. Its identity with Adelkind's edition is proved by (1) the distribution of the text on the pages, (2) the appearance on it of "signatures" that are appropriate to Adelkind's Bible (118. 1, 118. 2, 118. 3, 118. 4), (3) the use of almost precisely the same border round the heading בְּחִימָא at the top of the first column.

After the Jerusalem Targum in Adelkind's Bible 62 folios reproduce the supplementary matter of Ben Chayim's fourth volume, with the exception of the table of variations between Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali. This omission and the use of smaller type reduce the number of printed pages in the section from 131 to 123. These supplementary pages seem to have been set up in type, at least partly, before the completion of the printing of the preceding sheets. The proof is: (1) the "signatures" here start afresh with 112. 1, which is the signature of the corresponding page of Ben Chayim's Bible and has been derived from it, (2) the paging also makes

<sup>1</sup> Strack, p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> He was son of Baruch Adelkind of Padua. He is known to have worked in Venice, chiefly in the employment of Bomberg, from 1524 to 1553 (*Jewish Encyclopedia*).

<sup>3</sup> Its owner in 1826-27 (BPP) was Gabriel Chayim of Ancona (MS. note on title-page).

a fresh start, repeating a numeration already passed in the paging of the Bible (viz. **תתצב תתצא תתצ תתפס** etc.).

The poems by Joseph Elijah are reprinted from Ben Chayim's Bible in a revised form. The dates they now supply present a complicated problem. The first poem gives the date of the completion of the work as Tishri and **אסובוריו** of **קר"ב** (308), i.e. October 1547. The corresponding date of the second poem is 24th Tishri **קר"ב** (i.e. 8th October, 1547). Both the day and the month are, however, precisely those of the first edition of the poem and may have been carelessly left unrevised. Only the year date (308), therefore, merits a measure of confidence. It implies a date prior to the third of September, 1548, and points to the conclusion that the printing of the supplementary matter was completed some time before the printing of the Bible (see its date above).

*Fourth Rabbinical Bible* (4 vols. 2°, Venice, 1548).<sup>1</sup>

There is no part of this Bible in the University Library. It was printed and published by Giovanni de Gara. His editors were Isaac ben Joseph Salman and Isaac ben Gerson (*J.E.*). It is spoken of as a revised edition of the Third Bible.

*Fifth Rabbinical Bible* (4 vols. 2°, Venice, 1617-19).<sup>2</sup>

The title-pages of vols. 1, 3 and 4 announce this work as the fourth edition of Bomberg's Great Bible (i.e. as the fourth edition of Ben Chayim's Bible). The printers and publishers were now, however, Pietro and Lorenzo Bragadin. Their editor was Jehudah Aryeh (Leon da Modena), whose preface is printed on the back of the title-page of the first volume.<sup>3</sup> It describes the preparations made for the new edition and names the helpers employed.

The names of the publishers are printed in Roman letters at the foot of the title-pages of every volume, with the dates 1617 (vols. 1 and 2) and 1618 (vols. 3 and 4). In Hebrew letters the year 377 (A.D. 1616-17) is given on the title-page of every volume. The Hebrew dating is wrong for vols. 3 and 4, and is there due to a careless retention of nearly the whole Hebrew title of vol. 1. The title-page of vol. 2 differs considerably in the arrangement of its letterpress from the titles of the other volumes, and in this respect has a greater resemblance than the others to the titles of Ben Chayim's volumes.

On the last page of vol. 4, at the foot of the last column, there is a colophon which says that the work began in Nisan and ended in Nisan, and that the day of the completion was Wednesday, 12th Nisan, 5379

<sup>1</sup> Strack, p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> The dates on the title-pages are 1617 and 1618, but the work was not completed until March 1619 (see below).

<sup>3</sup> There is a full article on this voluminous writer and distinguished scholar (A.D. 1571-1648) in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*.

(השע"ה), i.e. Wednesday, 27th March, 1619. Nisan of the year 5377 began on 6th April and ended on 5th May, 1617.

The University Library has two copies of this Bible, one complete, bound in two volumes (press-mark B16.a7 and 8), the other, including vols. 1, 2 and 3, separately bound (B27.X8-10). The former copy was bought by the University in 1691, and the signature of Principal William Dunlop (1690-1700) has been placed on the first title-page in each volume.

In this Bible the fragmentary "Jerusalem Targum" has been reprinted on eight pages closely resembling those of Adelkind's publication. The rest of the supplementary matter of the older Bibles has been crowded into 25 folios of very small print. Moses Naqdan's treatise on the vowel points and accents has been removed from the margins of the Massorah Magna and is printed independently on 2½ pages. The differences between Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali are omitted as in the Third Bible. The two poems by Joseph Elijah are not reproduced. The signatures of the supplementary pages, including those on which the Jerusalem Targum is printed, are continuous with the signatures of the rest of the volume.

*Sixth Rabbinical Bible (4 vols. 2°, Basel, 1618-19).*

This was edited by John Buxtorf, the elder (1564-1629), with the help of Abraham ben Eliezer Braunschweig,<sup>1</sup> and was published by Ludwig König. The title-page of vol. 1 and the Latin preface represent the work as an improved edition of the Great Bibles published in Venice. Buxtorf's dependence upon Ben Chayim is clearly visible in the Book of Genesis, where the contents and setting of the two works agree closely page by page. Buxtorf claims special credit for his new punctuation of the Targums (which in the Pentateuch and Prophets is conformed to that of Ezra and Daniel) and for his corrections and better arrangement of the printed Massorah.

There is probably a veiled allusion to Ben Chayim's "Holy Gate of Jehovah" (see above, p. 46) in the Scripture texts on the title-page of Buxtorf's vol. 1. On the arch of a gateway, by which he also adorns his title-page, there is printed in Hebrew the text "This is none other than the House of God and the Gate of Heaven," and below it, at the very foot of the page, these words "The glory of this later House will be greater than that of the former."<sup>2</sup>

The dates of publication of the fifth and sixth Rabbinical Bibles are intricately related. Buxtorf's preface (in vol. 1) is dated 22nd August, 1618. In it he mentions that he has seen sheets of the new edition that is being published in Venice. But Buxtorf's vol. 4 was not completed until

<sup>1</sup> *Jewish Encyclopedia* (art. Buxtorf). Buxtorf's name is spelled in Hebrew letters with a *š* (Buxdorf).

<sup>2</sup> So the Vulgate translates Haggai ii. 10, although the Hebrew rather means "the later glory of this house shall be greater than the former."

Ab 379 (שללה בזה), in the note at the foot of the last page of *Chronicles*, i.e. in (the latter part of) <sup>1</sup> July 1619, and so four months later than the completion of the Fifth Bible. The title-page of vol. 1 is dated 1618, vol. 2 (in Hebrew), 378, i.e. 1617-18, vol. 3 (in Hebrew), 379, i.e. 1618-19. The date on the title of vol. 4 is puzzling.

In vol. 1, after his own Latin preface, Buxtorf reprints Ben Chayim's Hebrew preface and his tables of the beginnings of the Christian chapters <sup>2</sup> and of the Massoretic Sedarim. Nothing else of Ben Chayim's preliminary matter is given. Throughout the Pentateuch extracts from Ba'al ha-turim (Jacob ben Asher) have been added on the extreme margins to the original contents, in very small type.

In vol. 3 the commentaries of Rashi and Qimchi on Isaiah and on the Twelve Prophets take the place of Rashi and Ibn Ezra. Ibn Ezra's commentaries on these books are, however, printed continuously after Isaiah and the Twelve Prophets respectively. Similarly Qimchi's treatise on the Merkabhah is printed as an appendix to the Book of Ezekiel.

In vol. 4 extracts from Rashi's commentaries are printed in very small type within the original limits of Ben Chayim's pages on the extreme margins. The Jerusalem Targum is printed with special signatures on eight pages, closely following the model of Adelkind's Bible. The *Massorah Magna* occupies 59 folios (118 pages). It agrees closely with Ben Chayim's *Massorah*, page by page, up to near the end of the letter *yodh*; after this point the typographical agreement is not so close. Following the *Massorah Magna* is a list, not given by Ben Chayim, of all the passages in which *pesiq* occurs (3½ pp.). The rest of Ben Chayim's supplementary matter, somewhat differently arranged, is then completely given.

A surprising feature of Buxtorf's edition is his reprint of the two poems of Joseph Elijah on the recto of the last folio of vol. 4. Corrections within brackets have been made in order to supply the names of the new editor and publisher and place of publication and date. In the first poem there are seven of these alterations and in the second three. The new date of completion is given in two forms in the first poem, as Ab ש"ע"ט (379) and July אלה ותר"ץ (1619 A.D.). Since Ab 5379 A.M. began on 13th July, 1619, the double date implies a day between 13th July, 1619, and the end of the month. In the text of the second poem the "corrections" have been made in a very slovenly fashion. They appear to set the beginning of the work in the Christian year תר"ץ (1619) and the end of it on 24th Ab 379. Both must be wrong.

On the verso of the last folio there is a new acrostic poem by Abraham bar Rabbi Eliezer Braunschweig.

An additional supplement, with an independent title-page and separate signatures and paging, is bound up with vol. 4. It contains the Haphtaroth

<sup>1</sup> The part of July is indicated by the evidence of the poem as given below.

<sup>2</sup> It may be noted that according to Ben Chayim and Buxtorf, Gen. ch. III. begins at II. 25.

with David Qimchi's commentary. The date on the title-page (in Hebrew letters) is A.M. 5379 (A.D. 1618-19, presumably A.D. 1619).

*Seventh Rabbinical Bible* (4 vols. 2°, Amsterdam, 1724-27).<sup>1</sup>

In this edition every book is accompanied by a Targum and more commentaries are given than in any previous edition (*J.E.*). The editor was Moses of Frankfort, whose own commentaries are included in the work.

#### *Censorship of Jewish books.*

Reference has already been made to the censorship of certain passages in the commentaries of some of the Rabbinical Bibles here described. A comparison between the four Library copies of the Jerusalem Targum reveals a striking example of the censor's work. The last words of the Aramaic translation of Numbers xxiv. 19 in the best copy of Adelkind's edition were originally . . . **מִן כְּרָכָא חַיִּיבָא** (the king of the house of Jacob will destroy all that is left) *of the guilty city*. . . The missing word, which the censor has deleted so thoroughly that it cannot be read, was presumably the name of a city (Rome?). The last letter of **כְּרָכָא** and all the following word have also been deleted. In the second Library copy of Adelkind's edition we find **מִן כְּרָכָא חַיִּיבָא** without any indication of a following name. In the Targum of the fifth Rabbinical Bible only **מִן כְּרָכָא** is printed, the word for "guilty" having been cautiously, or compulsorily, omitted. In Buxtorf the obnoxious **חַיִּיבָא** (guilty) is replaced by **חַקִּיפָא** (strong)!

At the foot of the last page of the Library copy of Adelkind's Bible, in a MS. note, there is, apparently, the name and signature of the official censor of the work. He has written: *Coretto (per) mi Vittorio Eliano de ordine delli d<sup>ni</sup> s<sup>ti</sup> esecutori (?) / Contra l'abia. tr. . .* The final letters of the last word run away into a scrawl. Presumably the word identifies the censor's place of residence.

4th October, 1927.

The meeting was attended by 16 members and two papers were read: (1) "The Political and Religious Conditions in China," by the (late) Rev. Alexander R. Mackenzie, M.A., and (2) "The Present State of Dozy's Researches on Spanish History," by Professor Entwistle, M.A., read by the Rev. Professor Stevenson, D.Litt., D.D.

<sup>1</sup> Strack, p. 184. *J.E.* gives 1724-28.

## A NOTE ON POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS IN CHINA, 1927.

BY THE LATE REV. ALEXANDER R. MACKENZIE, M.A.

THE fighting which brought about the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty in China commenced on the 10th of October, 1911. Much was made of the fact that the Manchus were aliens; yet they belonged to the same racial stock as the Chinese, and, while they formed a privileged, ruling caste so long as they remained in power, they had gradually been sinicized in most particulars. Even the native Manchu language of the imperial house, written as it was in Syriac script, gradually fell into disuse for all practical purposes, and had to be specially studied by the later rulers of the dynasty the same as any foreign language. The long and brilliant reigns of the two great Manchu emperors, Kang Hsi and Chien Lung, seemed to have receded into the distant past; and the whole country was tired of the corrupt and degenerate imperial house, which had brought China into such affliction at the time of the Boxer rising eleven years before. The Revolution proceeded swiftly and with comparatively little bloodshed, and by New Year, 1912, this first stage, involving the abrogation of the young Manchu emperor and the establishment of the Chinese Republic, was safely accomplished.

The revolutionary leader, Sun Yat-sen, a Cantonese of lowly birth but fair education, had been proclaimed provisional president of the new Republic at Nanking; but when the north of China went over to the Republic, Sun generously gave place to the experienced northern statesman, Yüan Shih-k'ai. Yüan seems not to have been honestly republican at heart. In any case he conceived the idea of using his position and his power to start a new, Chinese, dynasty, with himself as the first emperor. He proclaimed the inauguration of the "Constitutional" dynasty in the spring of 1916, arousing a violent storm of opposition all over China. His death followed in a few months, in June 1916.

The political history of China since then has been a long story of civil war, one province or group of provinces fighting against another province or group of provinces, one militarist leader against another, North against South, a wild unending scramble for place, power, fame and gain. The state of the country has rapidly gone from bad to worse; and the scourge of banditry has increased to unprecedented dimensions.

After the Revolution efforts were made to inaugurate representative parliamentary government in China, both national and provincial. But the national parliament in Peking was never able to work properly owing to various causes. There was a great deal of corruption at the elections, votes were openly bought at stated prices. Partisanship was carried to such extremes that business simply could not be transacted. The quorum was fixed at so high a figure that, by simply absenting themselves from the house, any considerable number opposing a motion or a measure, could

effectively block it. Members of parliament were paid, but that did not apparently help them to take their responsibilities seriously. They made their visits to the national and provincial capitals an occasion for indulgence in pleasure.

If the attempt to introduce parliamentary government was a failure, the Chinese parliament itself was chiefly to blame. The result was that all the real power devolved on the executive of each province or region, and, in the long run, on the military chiefs, who had armies at their command.

China declared war on Germany in August 1917. Her participation in the struggle was merely nominal. China as a belligerent, however, expected to share in the advantages of the peace treaty, and was very greatly disappointed when Germany's former rights and privileges in the province of Shantung were made over to Japan in accordance with pledges previously made by Great Britain, France and Italy. That raised a storm of opposition in China, led by the students and schoolboys of a dozen large cities. A nation-wide boycott was proclaimed against Japan and made very effective.

At the initiative of Britain the subject of politics in the Pacific was put on the agenda of the Washington Conference of 1921. Many important decisions were then come to in China's favour, including Japan's individual renunciation of her claims in Shantung.

During all these intervening years subsequent to Yüan Shih-kai's failure to found a new dynasty, there had been a government in South China, centring in Canton, independent of, and hostile to, the government at Peking. The South claimed to be the true exponent of Chinese Nationalism. It was represented at Paris in 1919 by Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, who took a much more important part there than the official head of the delegation nominated by Peking.

However, Sun Yat-sen visited Peking early in 1925, in order, if possible, to come to an agreement with the people in power there at that time about the early convocation of a Popular Assembly representative of the whole nation. Dr. Sun was very ill with cancer, and he died at Peking before anything definite had been arranged.

Sun's death was the occasion of a great surge of nationalist feeling against the privileges of foreigners in China. The unilateral treaties according to which foreigners enjoyed extraterritorial rights, the foreign concessions and settlements, the foreign-controlled administration of the Chinese Maritime Customs, were all felt to be infringements of China's sovereignty that were incompatible with China's status as a free and independent nation. Shortly after that there occurred the Shanghai incident of 30th May, 1925, when a junior officer of police gave the order to fire on a crowd of Chinese rioters who were out to make trouble. A number of them were killed, and by that fact completely justified in Chinese eyes. This fanned to white heat the already intense anti-foreign feeling throughout the country. The whole onus of the affair was quite

unreasonably laid by the Chinese upon Britain. All kinds of lying reports were spread, and malicious attempts were made to provoke similar trouble at other places. At Canton there occurred a second regrettable clash, intentionally stirred up, with a number of deaths resulting.

Chinese anti-foreign agitation has since been directed chiefly against Great Britain. British commercial men and missionaries have been compelled to clear out of a great part of inland China. Property has been looted and destroyed, and business made impossible.

Mob attacks, directed from behind the scenes, made necessary the evacuation of the British concessions at Hankow and Chinkiang in January of this year. A general attack on the persons and property of all foreigners marked the capture by the Southern armies of the city of Nanking in March. One or two foreigners were killed, while many suffered grievous injury at the hands of the marauding soldiery.

The Nationalists of Canton had got into touch with Soviet Russia in 1924, and were thereafter supplied by the Soviet Republic with advisers, and with munitions in great quantities. Under the leadership of a competent young general, Chiang K'ai-shek, they commenced to advance northwards, and they have secured remarkable success on the field of battle. They have now extended their authority to most, if not all, of China south of the Yangtzekiang. But recently General Chiang retired, and the Nationalists have broken up into various mutually antagonistic groups, some communistic and pro-Soviet in sympathy, others anti-communistic.

The leader of the Northern forces in China is Marshal, now Generalissimo, Chang Zoo-lin of Manchuria. He stands for a determined opposition to Soviet Russia, and takes a more or less conservative attitude, as might be expected, on other questions. The much-discussed "Christian general," Marshal Fêng Yü-hsiang, espoused the Nationalist cause some years ago, and works hand-in-glove with the Russians. His Christian sympathies are reported to have evaporated latterly.

There are in China, apart from Russians and Japanese, some 50,000 aliens. Of these 15,000 are British subjects, men, women and children. Of the 15,000 about 8000 are normally resident in the port of Shanghai, leaving 7000 scattered up and down in the length and breadth of that continental land.

The Chinese are not naturally a very religious people. On the contrary their outlook on life is quite generally materialistic. The roots of Chinese religion are to be found in the universally prevalent animism so realistically described by De Groot in his smaller book, *The Religion of the Chinese*.

Shrines are erected to the more prominent spirits along every road, under every large or remarkable tree, under every picturesque precipice, at the tops of the mountain passes and elsewhere. A single shrine may contain the tablets of half a dozen nature-spirits or princes of the animal kingdom. Some shrines become famous as resorts for the healing of disease. The ash of incense burned in the incense pots forms the medicine used by the



votaries. In cases of cures obtained or prayers heard the grateful worshippers often fetch wooden tablets suitably inscribed.

One great related department of Chinese religion has to do with the securing of blessings through the departed spirits of a man's ancestors. In return for the worship which such spirits crave as honour due to them, they are expected to provide their living descendants with the good and necessary things of life, food and clothing, money and houses and land. The social and economic aspects of ancestor-worship are therefore very important. For one thing, it constitutes a call upon a man at all costs to secure male posterity for carrying it on after he himself dies. For another, it is the means by which he gains prosperity for his family.

The Chinese talk of the three doctrines or cults, namely, the Learned (or Confucian), the Taoist, and the Buddhist.

The Confucian cult is a kind of agnostic pragmatism. It explains what is good form for the superior person. It is a combination of an ethical system and a code of etiquette, and takes to do mainly with the relations between man and man. Its ideal is dignified, proud, intolerant, contemptuous. The Confucian classics contain many noble sentiments, some of which are pasted up on walls, on window-posts and on door-posts each New Year. The virtues it emphasizes are humanity, justice, decorum, wisdom and trustworthiness. It also names reciprocity as a norm for conduct. This is, perhaps, where it most nearly approaches the teaching of our Lord Jesus (Mt. vii. 12).

The Taoist cult is Chinese and very ancient. It posits a mode of being and of action as pertaining to all existence. This *tao* is the manner (1 Sa. viii. 11) of any and every being, its ultimate characteristic. *Tao* is the fundamental thing in the universe; and to understand it is the essence of wisdom. "Be still and know." It existed before the gods themselves. "In the beginning was *tao*" is the translation of a familiar verse of the Christian scripture, whether soundly or wisely or not, I cannot say. Taoism in its later phases has degenerated into a popular polytheism trading in magic.

Of Buddhism it is not necessary to say much. Its original atheism has been transmuted in China into a rich polytheism. In popular speech Buddha and Heaven, the common name for God in nature, seem almost to have become interchangeable terms. There is one interesting deity of the Buddhist pantheon, namely, Kwan Yin, the Chinese goddess of mercy, who seems to have borrowed from, or, at least, been influenced by, early Christian Mariolatry.

Now whatever may have been the relations of the three cults in former times, and we know that Confucianism was once a persecuting sect, it is true now that a man in China may consistently profess attachment to two or three as well as to one of them! There is not the necessity felt by them of definite adherence to one faith or another. Differences are minimised by our Chinese friends. They are wonderfully tolerant in their religious tenets. "Oh, yes! the religions are all the same," is a phrase frequently

heard. And so it comes about that in the new forms of the old Chinese religions they all betray this syncretizing tendency even to the extent of imitating Christian methods and of giving Christianity a place alongside of the other religions.

The Confucian cult is represented by the International Ethical Association. One of the main purposes of this society seems to be the wide distribution of religious and ethical books. They have rooms in various centres in China for reading and recreation. This society recognises the five religions, Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, Christianity and Mohammedanism, in this order. At its beginning the society made much of the writing and teaching of a prodigy of ten years of age. But latterly he has attended the Peking Academy of the Methodist Mission as a pupil and has actually been enrolled as a catechumen in the Methodist Church.

Neo-Taoism is represented by the Tao Yüan (a triangle on its base the symbol of Christianity), the Courtyard of the Way. This is a somewhat select and fashionable society, equally syncretistic in tendency with the last described. It endeavours to perform genuine philanthropic work. Its members receive enlightenment by means of the Chinese planchette, wielded after due performance of the proper rites. Associated with the Courtyard of the Way is the Red Swastika (卐) Society, corresponding to the Western Red Cross Society and engaging as its rival in good works.

Of Neo-Buddhism I need only mention that it carries on the Buddhist tradition of producing literature, both books and periodicals, the fine literary style of which earns the commendation of those fit to speak of such things. Colleges have been founded for Buddhist study and research. Great conventions are now held for the spreading of Buddhist doctrine; and a Young Men's Buddhist Association has been started.

In the autumn of 1923 circulars were sent by post from the distant western province of Szechuan to Chinese officials, to schools and to churches in all parts of China, by a body which called itself The International Association for the Unification of Religions. In the circulars there was foretold a time of grave disaster for China and for the rest of the world which would fall on 25th Sept. of that year. The longer circular quoted a long portion of the Old Testament in Chinese, namely, the prophecy of Joel. The sun was to be eclipsed, the stars were to fall down from the heavens, earthquakes would occur, and great distress would seize all nations. About the beginning of September the great Japanese earthquake took place, and that was felt to confirm the prophecy contained in the circulars. A great fear took hold of people in many parts of China.

In our own county town in the Manchurian highlands we called a meeting, to which we invited the magistrate and the various officials of the place, and there was a crowd that filled the church to overflowing. We endeavoured to allay the popular fears by pointing out that the sun could not be eclipsed at full moon, and that earthquakes such as had been predicted were highly improbable.

T'ang Huan-chang, the founder of this Association, had had some slight contact with Christianity. This accounted for his use of the Old Testament. Shortly after the time he had predicted for the great woes he was arrested on a charge of obtaining money on false pretences.

Since the death of Sun Yat-sen, government schools in Nationalist China have been ordered to hold a weekly assembly each Monday morning to reverence the departed leader. All the staff and the scholars meet to hear Sun's will read, to bow to his photograph, and to study his teaching. Is this the beginning of a new religious cult? People are not very sure.

3000 missionaries out of 8000 are able to be at work in their stations.

During the past decade Christianity has been subjected to far more active criticism and opposition than formerly. It is ranked among the superstitions, which no educated person believes. It is attacked as foreign, imperialistic, and on the side of capital, a system which no patriotic Chinese could support. These attacks are signs that Christianity is making real progress in China; it is in process of becoming indigenous.

#### AUTHORITIES :—

##### Chinese Politics :

*China and Foreign Powers*, by Sir Frederick Whyte, K.C.S.I. (Oxford).

*China and Britain*, by R. O. Hall, U.F.C.

##### Chinese Religion :

*The Religion of the Chinese*, by de Groot.

*The Quest for God in China*, by F. W. S. O'Neill. (Allen & Unwin.)

## PRESENT CONDITION OF REINHARD DOZY'S RESEARCHES ON SPANISH HISTORY.

BY PROFESSOR WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE, M.A.

THE scientific accomplishments, intellectual force and international reputation of the great Dutch Arabist have given to his *Recherches* an overwhelming prestige. An Orientalist who merited the confidence of all his colleagues, unique master of Hispano-Arabic literature, and as well versed in certain aspects of Romance studies as any Romance scholar of his day, his authority has never been matched in this field by any equal authority, and his opinions impose themselves on Hispanists despite our private or publicly expressed dissent in matters of detail. Conviction is borne in upon us by his trenchant and unhesitating manner of exposition, for, like Macaulay, Dozy saw all things in a white light. Like Macaulay, he makes free use of antithesis and paradox; and it is here, at the place of his greatest apparent strength, that we perceive the "heel of Achilles." It cannot be denied that the paradox exercises an undue, even a hypnotising, influence over the Dutch scholar's mind. Masdeu wrote a critical history of Spain, Dozy denies its claims to be history or criticism; Roeseuw de St. Hilaire had an international reputation, Dozy cannot understand how he was taken

for an authority; Gayangos translated Al-Maqqari into English, Dozy denies that parts of the texts are Al-Maqqari's and carps at the translation; Conde wrote a history based on Arabic sources, Dozy feels impelled to prove that Conde knew little or no Arabic! The onslaught on Conde was particularly ungenerous and unjust. A scholar blessed with wealth and ease made a bludgeoning attack on one whose labours were hampered by poverty and misfortune; and the public who received the *Recherches* of Dozy was one educated into appreciation of the subject by his predecessor.

Despite the confident language of the master, therefore, it is clear that much of Dozy's work on Spanish history requires to be examined afresh. One cannot speak of his texts and his great supplementary lexicon, the value of which is presumably permanent. His celebrated glossary of Arabic loan-words in the Peninsular tongues can be expanded by additions drawn from Eguilaz and other authors; but more significant is the fact that the whole basis of these studies has altered, since it is now realised that Andalusia was a Spanish territory speaking a Spanish Romance tongue (Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes del Español*, 1926). This fact, formerly denied by such eminent scholars as Baist, materially alters our whole conception of the native society, art, literature and philology of the Cordobese Caliphate. In the *Recherches*, also, the basis of some of Dozy's conclusions has gone. The account which he has given of the campaign of Roncesvalles is not merely quite arbitrary, but invalid now that Barrau-Dihigo has demonstrated the dependence of the Arabic chroniclers on the Christian; his views on the authorship of the Pseudo-Turpin rest on the supposed dual nature of the work, and this Bédier has shown to be an unnecessary hypothesis. The largest portion of the *Recherches* is given over to the life of the Cid Ruy Díaz de Vivar. The classification of the Spanish poetical documents is now the opposite of that used by Dozy, and the earlier we rise in the tradition the more grave and worthy does the hero seem. But Dozy's argument requires that the opposite should be the case: the hero of loyal, punctilious, Catholic Spain must needs be a traitor, hireling and worse than heretic! Numerous criticisms of detail were contributed to the *Revue Hispanique* by Puyol Alonso, which showed how arbitrary were the methods by which Dozy substantiated his paradox, but it is only at this moment (1929) that the matter is being re-examined by a scholar of equal standing, D. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, the president of the Spanish Academy (*La España del Cid*, vol. i. published).

In short, the *Recherches* are both an example and an encouragement. As an example they show how much can be accomplished by a scholar who adds first-rate qualifications in Romance scholarship to similar competence in Oriental studies; but his faults encourage us to look still for interesting results in this same field of research.

26th March, 1928.

Twenty-one members were present at this meeting. The third of the series of Surveys of Oriental Studies was read by the Rev. Wm. Brownlee, B.D., and dealt with the periodical *Syria*. Thereafter, the Rev. Professor Stevenson, D.Litt., D.D., exhibited and explained a series of lantern slides dealing with the excavation work at Ur.

At this meeting intimation was made of the presentation to the University Library by M. Henri Bourgeois, of Brussels, of his philologically valuable collection of books in many European and Oriental languages. M. Bourgeois resided in Glasgow as a refugee during the War and presented these books in acknowledgment of the hospitality he then received from the town and the University.

#### NOTE ON SLIDES ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE DISCOVERIES AT UR.

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR W. B. STEVENSON, D.LITT., D.D.

THE account given of the recent excavations at Ur was based upon the reports of the excavators as given in the *Journal* of the Society of Antiquaries of London and in the *Museum Journal* of Philadelphia, from the illustrations of which the lantern slides were also taken. Special attention was drawn, amongst other things, to (1) the evidence for the existence of the arch in architecture as early as 2000 B.C., and (2) a gold toilet set, consisting of tweezers, an ear-pick (or ear-spoon) and a probe, all held together by a small silver ring and dated about 3000 B.C. Close parallels to the toilet set in China and in Saxon England suggest that it may be treated as an unexpected illustration of the abiding influence of Sumerian civilisation upon Europe and Asia through the centuries and milleniums after its apparent disappearance.

#### NOTE ON THE HENRI BOURGEOIS COLLECTION OF BOOKS.

THE collection is primarily philological and includes many grammars, dictionaries and schoolbooks, and also numerous pamphlets. It is estimated to contain nearly 1800 separate volumes, pamphlets and booklets. In the following list of some of the less common languages represented in it, the numbers include dictionaries and grammars but not pamphlets and booklets.

Lapp (25), Lithuanian and Lett (20), Esthonian (20-25), Finnish (20), Hungarian (20), Basque (30), Albanian (12), Georgian (12-15).

Romansh is represented by 18 volumes of school reading-books, 28 volumes of the *Annalas della Societad Rhaeto-Romanscha*, 9 volumes of *Igli Ischi* and about 15 miscellaneous volumes. There are more than 100 books and booklets in various Indian languages. Bound volumes in the Armenian character number 80-90. Assistance in the classification and cataloguing of these is specially required.

There are at least 200 volumes in the department of Jewish literature, learning and religion. Of these about sixty are written in Yiddish. Modern Hebrew writers in prose and poetry are well represented and include Solomon Barman, M. D. Brandsteter, Reuben Asher Braudes, Judah Gordon, Mandele (*Moker Sefarim*), Mordecai Mane, A. Mapu, K. Schulman, P. Smolensky and Israel Chayim Taviev.

There are books in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, and most of the Slavonic, Scandinavian and Celtic languages are also represented.

W. B. S.

*2nd October, 1928.*

This meeting was attended by 25 members and one visitor, and was held under a cloud of sorrow caused by the death of the Rev. Thomas H. Weir, D.D., Lecturer in Arabic in the University,<sup>1</sup> to which reference is made in the introduction.

At this meeting two rubbings on rice paper of the inscriptions on an ancient Jewish-Chinese Synagogue tablet from K'ai fung fu were presented to the Society by Professor Entwistle, M.A., in memory of his father, the late Rev. W. E. Entwistle of the China Inland Mission, and as a memorial of his Chinese studies. In making this presentation Professor Entwistle submitted to the Society a Statement on the Tablet which is printed below. The Society gratefully accepted the gift, and has arranged that the rubbings should be suitably displayed in the Hunterian Museum.

Two papers were read at the meeting: (1) "Some Arab Saints," by the Rev. James Robson, M.A., and (2) "The Yiddish Language," by Professor Herbert Smith, Ph.D.

#### THE K'AI FUNG FU SYNAGOGUE TABLET.

STATEMENT BY PROFESSOR ENTWISTLE, M.A.

In requesting the Glasgow University Oriental Society to accept, not only the custody, but also the ownership of these rubbings from the K'ai fung

<sup>1</sup> The Memorial Minute adopted is printed in Appendix I.

fu Synagogue tablet, I ask them to do so not as from me, but as from my late father, the Reverend W. E. Entwistle, of the China Inland Mission, and as a monument of his Chinese studies. "The philosopher Ts'êng said, 'Let there be a careful attention to perform the funeral rites to parents, and let them be followed when long gone with the ceremonies of sacrifice' " (Legge, *Chinese Classics*, i. p. 5).

The bibliography of Chinese Judaism is extensive and is detailed by the late Henri Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, section: *Réligion*, subsection: *Judaïsme* (I cols. 1353-1360), and in the same sections of his *Supplément*. An easily accessible account is that by Marcus N. Adler in *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, xiii. (1901), 18-41, with abstracts of the documentation, summaries of previous research, diagrams of the synagogue as it stood in the eighteenth century and particulars of the efforts of co-religionists to get into touch with this isolated community. Reports of importance on the community were made by the Jesuits in 1615, 1627, 1642, 1705, 1723, 1771, etc., and Ibn Batûta mentions a similar community as existing in the wealthiest quarter of Hangchow in the fourteenth century. Reproductions of scrolls bearing the religious principles of these Jews are given in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, new series, xi. (1920-1), 127-144, and elsewhere. Protestant missionaries visited the synagogue in 1850, and the Hebrew community in Shanghai made further enquiries in 1900 of Mr. R. Powell, of the China Inland Mission, whose report is summarised in *T'oung Pao*, 2nd series, iv. (1903), pp. 174-175. I have also consulted Mr. R. H. Matthews, of that mission, who was kind enough to identify for me these documents.

Traditional inferences place the arrival of the Jews in China as early as the first century of our era, but this seems to conflict with certain features of their written records—the ritualistic coincidence with Maimonides, and the indubitably Persian cast of their traditions. This stone states, also, that when the first seventy families arrived from India they were ordered to reside in Pien-liang, now K'ai fung fu, by the then emperor. When we consider the attraction for exotic religions of a capital (as of Si-an fu for the Chinese Nestorians), we may reasonably infer that the immigration was during the period when K'ai fung fu was the capital, i.e. between 936-1127. Benjamin of Tudela was unaware of their existence, but there appear to be notes on Jews in China among the Arabic traders' reports of the ninth century. Assuming that the community at K'ai fung fu was resident in an imperial capital, it is easy to explain why there should be another at Hang-chow in Ibn Batûta's times, seeing that the Sung emperors had been compelled to move their residence further south. Jews resided also in Ning-po, and in one other town, in the seventeenth century.

This stone is one of several that record the erection and reconditioning of the synagogue at K'ai fung fu. It is stated to have been built by a certain Yentula in the first year of Lung-hsing of the Southern Sung dynasty (1163), rebuilt under the Mongols in 1279, repaired under the Mings in 1421, and destroyed to the foundations by an overflow of the

Yellow River in 1461. The older inscription is dated in the top right-hand corner Hung-chih csh nien, the second year of Hung-chih (1489) [or possibly san nien = 1490]. The title in the left-hand corner runs chung-chien ch'ing-chên ssü chi. Mr. Matthews tells me that the words ch'ing-chên are in use to-day among the Moslems as terms for "God" (chên-tsai). So one may translate the title as the "Record of the foundation of the True-and-Pure (or Jahwist) Religious Community." In addition to the facts detailed, and those of the rebuilding in 1489, the tablet gives a short statement of the Jewish faith. Not cited is the abstinence from eating the shrunk tendon, which has given its name to the Jewish community in China—T'iao-chin chiao = "Pick-out-the-sinew religion."

The other side is dated (in the top right-hand column): Ta-Ming Chêng-te ch'i nien, the seventh year of Chêng-te of the Ming dynasty (1513). It is entitled (top, left) Tsún-ch'ung tao-ching ssü chi = "The Record of the Community that reverences the Classics of Doctrine." This record is carved on the back of the stone, and is *à propos* of the receipt of copies of the Law.

A third inscription was erected in the second year of K'ang-hsi (1663) recording the destruction of the synagogue in 1642 by the rebel Li, the escape of 200 Jewish families, the saving of the sacred rolls, and the beginnings of a reconstructed community in 1653. This stone is lost but rubbings remain, and it is summarised by Adler in his article cited. A fourth inscription, third slab, was erected in the eighteenth year of K'ang-hsi (1679). It is extant, but said to be illegible.

The Chinese Jews, a powerful community when Ibn Batûta saw them at Hang-chow and when Mateo Ricci first chanced on one of them at the court of the early Manchus, are now sunk in neglect and poverty. When seen by Mr. R. Powell in 1900 they had 140 individuals, in eight clans of forty families within the city, and a few more without. They neither observed the principles of their own religion nor (in general) those of the heathen; but intermarried freely. Of the handsome synagogue, drawn by the Jesuits Domingo and Bruckner in the eighteenth century, only ruined cloisters remained for the London Missionaries in 1850, and in 1900 (Mr. Powell wrote) "the site where once their beautiful synagogue stood is now a stagnant pool of dirty water, alongside of which stands a stone marking the spot."

Of that stone, gentlemen, I ask you to deign to accept these rubbings.

### SOME ARAB SAINTS.

BY THE REV. JAMES ROBSON, M.A.

THERE are said to be over 1200 saints buried within the bounds of the Aden Settlement whose names are unknown. Each year a ziâra is held at the tombs of certain saints, of whom the most popular are Sheikh Abu



Bakr ibn 'Abdallah, al-'Aidrūs, Sheikh Ahmad, Sheikh Hāshim Bahr and Sheikh 'Othmān. Of these only al-'Aidrūs belongs to the highest category of saints, being called "Al-Ḳutb Al-Ghauth." Ḳutb denotes the second rank and ghauth the highest. The others are majdhūbs, being of the fifth rank.

The plan of this paper is first to give some description of a ziāra—for definiteness one at the tomb of the Sheikh 'Othmān; and then to give some information about a few of the saints.

The tomb is a whitewashed building on the edge of the desert. On the first of the two days of the ziāra there is a procession to bring the new kiswah to the tomb. There is much dancing and shouting; men carry banners which are dedicated to the saint; two comedians caper about; men gash themselves with axes, or cut themselves with knives, but it is said that no lasting injury results from this, as it is done in honour of the saint. After the kiswah is put in its place the remainder of the two days is occupied with merrymaking. There are swings, merry-go-rounds, houp-la stalls and other amusements, and booths are set up where people can buy food and sweets. In the afternoon there is a procession of camel-riders, who give an exhibition of riding until sunset. Huge lamps are lit and the evenings are occupied with dancing. The dancers are usually men, but sometimes women take part with them. The type of dance is crude. The men usually carry sticks. Sometimes they run round in a circle; at other times backwards and forwards in a straight line. Most commonly two persons dance at a time, dancing singly. Occasionally they brandish their sticks as though they were weapons. To the uninitiated observer there seems to be more energy than skill in the type of dance. When women take part they also dance in pairs, sometimes with men as partners, but most commonly with women.

Of the saints who are thus honoured often little is known. Sheikh 'Othmān is said to have lived about 300 years ago, but no record of him seems to have been preserved. At the tomb of Sheikh Abu l-Kawāfi in Aden a light is said to appear occasionally. Sheikh Hāshim Bahr died about thirty years ago, but is already held in honour second only to al-'Aidrūs. He is reputed to have been a heavy drinker; but miracles are still said to happen at his tomb. In 1925 a man cut his throat and recovered whenever he was taken into the tomb! Sheikh 'Ali Ahmad, whose makām is at Sheikh 'Othmān, is said to have thrown a stone there from Jebel Shemsān, three miles distant. His father, Sheikh Ahmad, the fisher saint at Steamer Point, is held in high honour, and has a large ziāra. But there are only three of whom I can say anything satisfactory.<sup>1</sup>

Gauhar was a freed slave who had a shop in Aden. When the sheikhs of his day asked him to be their leader he hesitated, then asked three days' grace to pay his debts before acceding to their request. He is said

<sup>1</sup> For Gauhar and Raihān see *Kalā'id al-Jumman fi Mulūk 'Adan wa-San'a' al-Yaman*, by Muḥammad 'Abd al-Majid (Cawnpore 1911). This book also refers to Al-'Aidrūs, For Al-'Aidrūs see his *Diwān*, published by Abu 'l-'Alā' (Haidarabad, Deccan, n.d.).

to have had a cat which told him the number of people who had come to visit him, so that he was always able to have sufficient food prepared. But once the cat omitted two people. It was discovered that they were Christians in disguise who were detected only by Gauhar's cat. They became Muslims and lived blameless lives thenceforward. There was also a bird which pertained to him. When merchants in a storm at sea invoked him, the bird alighted on the boat and they were delivered from danger. A *kāḍī* once lost a rosary which he prized. He went to pray at Gauhar's tomb and placed his hand in an opening. When he withdrew it the rosary was hanging on his wrist. Gauhar died in Rejeb, 626 A.H. (= May-June 1229 A.D.).

Reihān was a freed Abyssinian slave who had a great reputation for his miracles. He could tell people what they were thinking about. He once seized a man and flew up into the sky with him, and when the man felt nervous and was brought back to earth, Reihān told him he had merely wished to show him something he had never seen before. He once met a traveller who arrived at Aden after the gates were closed. When the traveller told him he had no food and asked him to provide some for him, he produced a lavish meal miraculously. A friend once expressed the hope that he was well, to which he replied, "Don't be afraid as long as this head is all right." This was later seen to be a prophecy, for a long time afterwards he fell, broke his head, and died. I have not been able to find any indication of when he lived.

Al-'Aidrūs is the most famous of these saints, and more is known about him than about any other. It is said that the prophet Mohammed appeared to him and gave him his rank. He is said to have been of a gentle disposition, forgiving, not revengeful, kind to orphans, a lover of the poor, and one who dealt cautiously with devils. He was also patient amid trials. He is said to have been so learned that he could teach those who were authorities in the various branches of religious learning. The following sayings indicate some of his teachings: "The superiority of the learned over the unlearned is like my superiority over the vilest of you." "Do not make little of obedience, even if it be a small matter, for in it is God's acceptance; and do not despise disobedience, even if it be a small matter, for in it is God's anger." "Do not slander one another. Does anyone like to eat his brother's flesh?" He is said to have prayed the following often: "O God, give us the most abundant intelligence, and the purest understanding, and the cleanest deeds, and the best manners, and the most abundant food, and perfect health, and the best in this world, and a pleasant abode in the next; and God bless our lord Mohammad and his family and his Companions, and grant peace!" This prayer would indicate that he was no ascetic.

He is credited with various miracles. Once when a ship in the neighbourhood of Bombay had sprung a leak, one of those on board invoked him, and in a dream saw him coming and filling the hole with a napkin. When he awoke, he told his dream to the crew, and when they examined

the place, they found the napkin was there. The ship came safely to land. On one occasion he told a man who had come from Egypt and Syria where he had stayed and whom he had met, as though he had actually been with him. In 880 A.H. he made a pilgrimage to Mecca and performed several miracles on the way. Of these one of the most remarkable was when they came to a very deep well from which they could not draw water. He prayed, and the water overflowed. A ruler in Zeila appealed to him to cure a slave-girl who was on the point of death, and his prayers were effective. Someone recounted that when he was in danger in San'a he invoked al-'Aidrūs, who immediately appeared and pulled him and his horse to safety by their forelocks. He is said to have died on Tuesday, the 14th Shawāl, 914 A.H. (=6th February, 1509 A.D.).

These stories may sound very puerile, but the Arabs firmly believe them, and have a wonderful respect for the power of dead saints. I was once informed that an oath sworn in the name of God is not necessarily binding; but that one sworn in the name of a saint cannot be broken.

## YIDDISH.

(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO H. BOURGEOIS, PETITE GRAMMAIRE  
JUDÉO-ALLEMANDE. PARIS 1913.)

BY PROFESSOR HERBERT SMITH, M.A., PH.D.

YIDDISH is the language used by about 5,000,000 Jews, originally German, in a belt of country reaching from Lithuania, through Poland, and embracing parts of Western Russia down to Roumania and Eastern Austria. It is spoken also by many Jews in Germany, where, however, it is fast dying out. It is the language, generally the sole language, of conversation amongst those who use it; it has had for centuries a varied secular and sacred literature; and hundreds of newspapers appear in it.

It is also the language of Jewish emigrants from Eastern Europe, in several quarters of the globe, mainly in Britain and in the United States; in New York alone there are some 1,000,000 Yiddish-speaking Jews.

Originally the Jews in Germany spoke and wrote the prevailing form of German. For reasons which have not yet been fully investigated, the most important of which however was probably the particular foreign connection of the Jews, Jewish German, both spoken and written, gradually began to differ from the prevailing literary German. At the end of the eighteenth century the Jewish philosopher, Moses Mendelssohn, endeavoured to introduce literary German as the language of Jewish literature. He contemptuously called Jewish-German "jargon," which is the current name for Jewish-German in Russia. "Yiddish," a corruption of "Jüdisch," is mainly used in English-speaking countries.

Little attention has been paid to Yiddish by scholars. Apart from a few articles in periodicals, the first really scientific study of the language

was Mieses's *Historical Grammar* published in 1924. It is significant that the latest edition of the standard historical grammar of German, which treats German from the point of view of its dialects, dismisses Yiddish in twelve lines.

There is no standard spoken or literary form of Yiddish. There are three main divisions: the Southern, prevalent in South Russia, parts of Galicia and in Roumania; Polish, spoken in Poland and in parts of Lithuania and Galicia; and Lithuanian. The divergence is greater in the literary usage than in the spoken usage. As there is no established grammar, it is left to the individual to approach literary German and to introduce foreign words as he desires. There is no established form of pronunciation or spelling. Hebrew characters are used. The chaos in spelling may be illustrated by the rules laid down by the *Jüdische Volks-bibliothek*: (1) Write as you speak, (2) write so that both Polish and Lithuanian Jews may understand you, and (3) spell differently words of the same sound which have a different signification.

The origin of the Yiddish vocabulary presents a very interesting problem. Leo Wiener, who was one of the first to deal systematically with the language in two articles in the *American Journal of Philology* (1893), tells us that in twenty pages of Yiddish print he counted 1900 different words. Of these words 1350, i.e. about three-fourths, were of German origin. This points to the first important feature in the origin of Yiddish. In its vocabulary, its grammar and its syntax, it is, to an overwhelming extent, German.

An examination of the German element leads to interesting conclusions.

In the first place, Yiddish does not show any of the changes which took place in German after the end of the fifteenth century. It does not contain the foreign element which was introduced into German after that date, and it does not reveal the changes which took place subsequently in phonology. The conclusion must be deduced, that the separation from German which formed Yiddish took place not later than the end of the fifteenth century.

In the second place, German in the Middle Ages was divided into three main groups of dialects, each of which had an equal standing as the language of literature. Modern German is derived from the group of dialects which prevailed in the middle of Germany. The German element in Yiddish, on the other hand, reflects almost entirely, in its phonology, its vocabulary and its meanings, not the dialects of middle Germany, but the dialects of the German-speaking peoples of the East and South-East, i.e. roughly speaking, present-day Austria and Bavaria. It contains a large number of words which are peculiar, to this day, to the dialects of South Austria and South Germany. Of the 1350 German words which Leo Wiener counted, 131 have become obsolete in modern literary German, or show marked divergence in meaning from corresponding words in literary German.

In the third place, Yiddish has nothing that is peculiar to the German dialects of the West.

In the fourth place, there is a not inconsiderable Platt-deutsch or Low-German, or North German element, both in vocabulary and in grammar.

The picture which one thus obtains is that of a belt of country reaching from the Baltic to the Black Sea, inhabited at the close of the Middle Ages by Jewish communities who somehow and at some period of their history learned the German of the eastern and south-eastern regions of German-speaking peoples, who had some connection with the North, but none with the West.

1350 of the 1900 words which were counted by Wiener were of German origin. Of the remainder 320 were Hebrew, and 131 were Slavonic. If 72% of Yiddish was German, 17% is Hebrew, and 7% is Slavonic.

In regard to the Hebrew element, Yiddish is printed to this day in Hebrew characters. The Hebrew element in the vocabulary consists for the most part of nouns; there are few Hebrew verbs, pronouns or numerals. There are also considerable Hebrew elements in the grammar, e.g. a plural ending *-im* is added even to German roots.

The Slavonic element displays itself both in vocabulary and in grammar.

In addition to the German, Hebrew and Slavonic elements, there is also a small Italian element.

Rather significant, in view of the absence of a West German element, is the absence of any French element except in modern importations.

In his recent *Historical Grammar of Yiddish*, Mieses examines these component elements of Yiddish and finds that the conclusions which they suggest are confirmed by historical records. The complete absence of western influences suggests that it is unlikely that the Jews entered Germany by way of France. Much more probable is the view that they came, in so far as they came from the West, by way of North Germany. But the great bulk of them came partly from the East over the Ukraine, possibly from Persia, and partly from Italy.

M. Bourgeois wrote his *Petite grammaire judéo-allemande* (Paris 1913) for the use of those "qui désirent s'initier à la langue des Juifs de Russie, Galicie et Roumanie." Two points require to be noticed: Bourgeois gives throughout a phonetic transcription of the Hebrew characters of Yiddish, and he is describing no particular dialect, but "la résultante d'une tentative d'unification et de systématisation." Owing to the predominance of German in its composition, the language is best approached from German, and the German scholar will probably regard the following as the most interesting features:

In the NOUN, genders are as in German. The plural is formed, as in German, by the endings *-en* and *-er*, by mutation, and without change. But a very extensive use is made of the ending *-es* (possibly owing to English or Low-German influence), of *-ich* (the regular plural formation of diminutives), and of the Hebrew terminations *-im* and *-ut* mainly with Hebrew, but occasionally with German roots. In the inflexion, the

genitive plural *di brideres* and the genitive singular feminine *der tochteres* remind one of English. One is also reminded of English in the position of the genitive before the noun (*dess brideres freind*) and in the fact that names of inanimate objects form their genitive by circumlocution (*di gassen fon der schloeti*). The formation of nouns is also much as in German. An extensive use of diminutive suffixes is one of the charms of Yiddish; German, Russian and Polish suffixes being used for the purpose.

The ADJECTIVE can be used, without much apparent distinction, uninflected or inflected, and the inflection is the same whether or not the adjective is preceded by the article. Two forms are remarkable: a genitive singular in *-em* (*dess reinem himelss*) and the addition of an ending *-ss* to the genitive ending when the adjective is used substantively or when the adjective follows the noun which it qualifies. In the latter case the *-ss* disappears from the noun (*dess bruder dess jungenss, der schwesster der jungerss*, or substantively *dess allenss*). The plural of the adjective is formed uniformly in *-e*.

The NUMERAL is essentially as in German.

In the PRONOUN a form of the first person plural *mir*, which is also found in German dialects, is noticeable. The possessive pronoun is indeclinable before the noun, except when the noun is preceded by the indefinite article *a*, and is declined after the noun. The declension is essentially as in German, except a remarkable genitive formation, *a freind meinemss*. Bourgeois asserts that the reflexive *sich* can be used of all persons, as in Slavonic: *ich schem sich* or *ich schem mich*. The relative pronoun borrows a device from Hebrew and Slavonic in using *woss* along with the personal or possessive pronoun: *di kenigin, woss ich hob gesehn*.

More than any other part of speech, the VERB shows the amalgamation of three elements, German, Hebrew and Slavonic. It is mainly Germanic, but it has lost the imperfect and the subjunctive. In its shades of meaning it shows an inclination towards the Russian verb; and there are several methods of formation which remind one of Hebrew. The endings are, in the main, the normal German endings, even with Hebrew roots. There is no mutation in the present indicative. The formation of the future is noteworthy: the first person singular and plural and the third person plural use *welen* (*ich wel sein*); but the other persons use a form whose origin has not been satisfactorily explained (*du wesst sein, er wet sein*). The present participle uses an ending which occurs in Low-German: *schweigendig*. The past participle is formed with *ge-* as in German. For the imperfect, which has disappeared, a circumlocution is used with *fleg* (Germ. *pflügen*), e.g. *ich fleg hoben*. The passive is formed by means of *veren* with the past participle (*ich wer ferkauf, ich bin geworden ferkauf*, etc.).

PREPOSITIONS generally govern the dative.

Bourgeois closes with a number of specimens of Yiddish in his phonetic transcription, in which he prints the Slavonic words in italics and gives the translation of the Hebrew words in brackets. The following is a

specimen, with a literal German translation, which will reveal the close kinship to German :

Ein mol in a scheinem frih-morgen, efent sich bei mir di tir un ess kumt arein a mensch, auf 'n aussehn sehr a feiner, a leitischer un ein eideler, a kleinschtedtldiger intelligent, tut auss dem auerrock, hengt ihm auf 'n flekl, sucht a rein ort auf 'n *kapelusch* un kon nischt gefinen, (weil) ss 'is bei mir, farschteht ihr, ongeworfen mit papiren, bicher un gaseten, un deriber dreht er sich a bissel arum iber 'n schtub, bis er gefint ein ort auf dem *karnis* fun der *hrube* ; nor (weil) der *karnis* is a schmoler *karnis*, wil dort der *kapelusch* nit ligen, sohpringt er arop wi ein (impudent) un kaukelt sich auf der erd, un mein gast hot ein arbeit : nochjogen sich noch 'n (impudent) un gef inen fun seinetwegen a besser ort.

“ Einmal an einem schönen Fröhnmorgen, öffnet sich bei mir die Tür und es kommt herein ein Mensch, vom Aussehen ein sehr feiner, leutseliger und edler, klein städtiger Intelligent, tut den Überrock aus, hängt ihn auf einen kleinen Pflock, sucht einen reinen Platz für den Hut und kann ihn nicht finden, weil es bei mir, versteht ihr, umgeworfen ist mit Papieren, Büchern und Journalen, und darum dreht er sich ein bisschen über die Stube, bis er einen Platz auf dem Karnies des Ofens findet ; aber, weil das Karnies ein schmales Karnies ist, will der Hut dort nicht liegen, er springt herab wie ein Frecher und rollt auf der Erde, und mein Gast hat eine Arbeit : sich nachzujagen nach dem Frechen und einen besseren Platz für ihn zu finden.”

## APPENDIX I

### MEMORIAL MINUTES ON DR. JAMES YOUNG AND DR. THOMAS H. WEIR.

*Adopted in Memory of Dr. Young at the Meeting held on 5th October, 1925.*

The Society desire to place on record their keen sense of the great loss they have sustained in the death of the Rev. James Young, D.D., North Parish, Paisley, and their warm appreciation of his long and valued services to this Society.

Dr. Young was one of its oldest members, having been admitted in April 1881, the second year of the Society's existence. From the very first he took a warm interest in its activities and a leading part in its work, and in October 1882 he was appointed Recording Secretary. That post he occupied until April 1884, when he became Corresponding Secretary, and entered on the duties of the office with which he is associated in all our thoughts and memories, and which he still held when his untimely death occurred.

We had all looked forward to offering him, at this very meeting, our heartiest congratulations on the honour his Alma Mater had paid him in conferring on him the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Divinity, and had confidently hoped that he might be long spared to wear the honour so worthily bestowed. Instead, we find ourselves paying this tribute to his cherished memory.

Dr. Young was a man who won and held esteem by qualities alike of head and of heart. His scholarship was wide and accurate, and his sympathies broad and catholic. As a preacher he was simple, thoughtful, and helpful. His utterances were those of one who knew and appreciated the trend of modern thought, and could discriminate between the things that may be shaken and the things that remain. As a pastor he was diligent, faithful, and human—a man greatly beloved. And those who knew him best loved him most. For to those who were privileged to stand in the innermost circle was manifested the wonderful richness of a soul beautiful and strong.

We, fellow members with him of Glasgow University Oriental Society, gratefully offer this tribute to the memory of one who served us with distinguished ability and unwearying fidelity for the long period of forty years.

*Adopted in Memory of Dr. Weir at the Meeting held on 2nd October, 1928.*

The Glasgow University Oriental Society having suffered a loss of unusual severity in the death of Dr. Thomas H. Weir, gratefully resolves to place on record their appreciation of his personal worth and the indebtedness of the Society to him for his many services on its behalf.

Dr. Weir's wholehearted interest in the prosperity of the Society was clearly shown by the valuable papers he contributed from time to time to its proceedings, and very specially in the deliberations of the committee, of which he was for many years a member. Particular mention must also be made of his devoted and successful editorship of the Megillah, or Flying Roll, during the whole period of its existence.



As an author Dr. Weir attained wide recognition by his handbook on the Massoretic Text, a work marked by intimate knowledge of his theme and deft handling of his material. As a Semitic scholar, particularly in the province of Arabic, his place was in the foremost rank. We mourn the loss of one who, had he been longer spared, would certainly have added to his laurels in a sphere of study for which he was eminently suited alike by his gifts and by his attainments.

To complete this tribute it must be added that many members deplore most the personal loss they have sustained in the passing of one who was held by them not only in esteem but in affection. Dr. Weir endeared himself to those who knew him best by the loyalty and steadfastness of his friendship, unobtrusive but real; by his unfailing courtesy and unselfishness; and, not least, by a quiet, lambent humour that made his conversation an unfailing delight.

## APPENDIX II

## MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF THE SOCIETY.

1923-1928.

MEMBER'S NAME.	YEAR OF ELECTION.
Robert B. Pattie, B.D., - - -	1880
James Young, D.D., - - -	1881
<sup>1</sup> A. Cameron Watson, B.D., - - -	"
A. R. S. Kennedy, D.D., - - -	"
<sup>1</sup> Morison Bryce, - - -	1884
Hugh Duncan, B.D., - - -	"
Robert Morris, M.A., - - -	"
<sup>2</sup> R. McCheyne Paterson, O.B.E., B.D., - - -	1885
<sup>2</sup> Duncan B. MacDonald, B.D., - - -	1887
Thomas H. Weir, D.D., - - -	"
John Smith, D.D., - - -	"
Andrew Baird, B.D., - - -	1888
Robert Gardner, B.D., - - -	"
Duncan H. Brodie, B.D., - - -	1891
James W. McDonald, B.D., - - -	1892
Ewan M. McGregor, M.A., - - -	"
William Richmond Scott, - - -	"
Robert Burnett, B.D., - - -	1894
Francis G. Geddes, B.D., - - -	"
John McGilchrist, D.D., - - -	"
<sup>2</sup> John H. H. McNeil, B.D., - - -	1896
John W. Murray, B.A., - - -	1898
J. E. H. Thomson, D.D., - - -	1899
William Ewing, D.D., - - -	1900
Robert Aitken, B.D., - - -	"
William W. Fulton, B.D., - - -	"
William Fulton, B.Sc., D.D., - - -	1901
John Muir, B.D., - - -	"
<sup>1</sup> Theophilus Pinches, LL.D., - - -	"
William Rollo, M.A., - - -	1902
William Brownlee, B.D., - - -	"
Thomas Low, B.D., - - -	"
<sup>2</sup> Robert B. Douglas, B.D., - - -	1903

Honorary member.

<sup>2</sup> Corresponding member.

MEMBER'S NAME.	YEAR OF ELECTION.
<sup>1</sup> W. Marshall Tait, B.D., - - -	1903
<sup>2</sup> Alexander H. Harley, M.A., - - -	"
<sup>2</sup> D. H. Gillan, B.D., - - -	"
James R. Buchanan, B.D., - - -	1904
George Muir, B.D., - - -	"
<sup>2</sup> William M. Christie, D.D., - - -	"
<sup>2</sup> Samuel F. Hunter, M.A., - - -	1907
Alexander Moffatt, B.D., - - -	"
J. M. Woodburn, B.D., - - -	"
William B. Stevenson, D.Litt., D.D., - - -	1908
Louis C. Philipps, M.A., - - -	"
Andrew C. Baird, B.Sc., D.D., - - -	"
A. P. S. Tulloch, B.D., - - -	1909
<sup>2</sup> D. F. Roberts, B.D., - - -	"
Duncan Cameron, D.D., - - -	1910
<sup>2</sup> Alexander S. Fulton, M.A., - - -	"
Richard Bell, D.D., - - -	1911
John Edgar McFadyen, D.D., - - -	1912
James P. Wilson, B.D., - - -	1913
Charles J. Ritchie, M.A., - - -	1914
<sup>2</sup> Edward Robertson, B.D., D.Litt. - - -	"
Archibald Hunter, B.D., - - -	1916
Colin Campbell, D.D., - - -	1917
<sup>2</sup> William Samson, B.D., - - -	"
<sup>2</sup> Robert F. Chisholm, B.D., - - -	1920
James Gilroy, D.D., - - -	1921
E. J. Harris, B.D., - - -	"
Henry Farmer, M.R.A.S., Ph.D., - - -	"
<sup>2</sup> A. R. McKenzie, M.A., - - -	1922
<sup>1</sup> Principal Sir Donald MacAlister, K.C.B., - - -	"
<sup>2</sup> James Robson, M.A., - - -	"
G. A. Frank Knight, F.R.S.E., D.D., - - -	1923
Thomas Crouther Gordon, D.F.C., B.D., - - -	"
Frederick A. Stenart, B.D., - - -	"
<sup>2</sup> John Walker, M.A., - - -	"
David S. Stiven, M.C., B.D., - - -	1924
William J. Entwistle, M.A., - - -	1927
John McKechnie, B.D., - - -	"
Nathan Morris, M.A., - - -	"
George Fraser Black, Ph.D., - - -	1928
William Hannah McLean, M.Inst.C.E., Ph.D., - - -	"
<sup>2</sup> Samuel H. Semple, B.D., - - -	"
<sup>2</sup> Wm. Idris Jones, B.A., - - -	"
J. G. M. Thomson, B.D., - - -	"
Archibald C. Kennedy, B.D., - - -	"

## DEATHS, RESIGNATIONS, ETC., OF MEMBERS.

1923-1928.

During the period 1923-1928 the following members were removed :

*By death*—J. E. H. Thomson, in 1923 ; Robert Gardner, B.D., and James Young, D.D., in 1925 ; John Smith, D.D., Robert Burnett, B.D., John McGilchrist, D.D., and Thomas Weir, D.D., in 1928.

*By resignation*—J. W. McDonald, B.D., in 1923 ; G. A. Frank Knight, D.D., and Colin Campbell, D.D., in 1927.

*Also*—A. P. S. Tulloch, B.D., and Wm. Marshall Tait, B.D., in 1925.

<sup>1</sup> Honorary member.<sup>2</sup> Corresponding member.

## OFFICE-BEARERS AND COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT.

1928.

PRINCIPAL SIR DONALD MACALISTER, K.C.B., Bart.,	<i>Honorary President.</i>
PROFESSOR W. B. STEVENSON, D.Litt., D.D., -	<i>President.</i>
MR. R. B. PATTIE, B.D., - - - -	<i>Vice-President.</i>
THE REV. JOHN MUIR, B.D., - - - -	<i>Corresponding Secretary.</i>
THE REV. FREDERICK A. STEUART, B.D., -	<i>Recording Secretary.</i>
THE REV. ALEXANDER MOFFATT, B.D., -	<i>Treasurer.</i>
Together with	
DRS. FARMER and WEIR, and MESSRS. BRODIE, DUNCAN, and HARRIS.	

## APPENDIX III

## EXTRACTS FROM CONSTITUTION AND BYE-LAWS.

"The Object of the Society shall be the Study of the Languages, Literature, and Histories of the East."

"The Stated Meetings of the Society shall be held in Glasgow twice a year." [The present dates of Meeting are the last Monday of March and the first Tuesday of October.]

"The Society shall be composed of such Students of Oriental Languages as shall be duly elected."

"The Society may elect as Corresponding Members such persons permanently resident abroad" [now interpreted to mean "furth of Scotland"] "as may be willing to contribute to the proceedings of the Society."

"Names of persons proposed for election shall be submitted to the Committee of Management at least two months before the ensuing Stated Meeting of the Society, and such names shall be inserted in the programme of business for that Meeting."

"Each Ordinary Member shall pay an Annual Subscription, the amount of which shall be fixed from time to time by the Committee of Management." [The amount at present is five shillings.] Corresponding Members are asked to pay an Annual Subscription of two shillings and sixpence.

APPENDIX II. (*continued*).

MEMBER'S NAME.	YEAR OF ELECTION.
David Frew, D.D. - - - -	1887
Robert Kìlgour, D.D. - - - -	1888
Andrew Macfarlane, D.D. - - - -	1900
William Deans - - - -	1922

## GENERAL INDEX

[*Abbreviations.*—R.B. stands for Rabbinical Bible ; ref. for reference, meaning that the passage indicated in this volume is itself a reference to one elsewhere, where the subject in question is handled.]

- Achilles Tatius, on Babylonian time divisions, 10.  
 Adelkind, Cornelio, editor of a R.B., 47.  
 Aden, 7 ff.  
 Adullam, Cave of, as "the Hold" of 1 Sam. xxii., etc., difficulties in identifying, 31.  
 Ahiram, Sarcophagus of, 40.  
 Ahrens, Prof., in *der Islam*, 42.  
 Aidrus, al, 63-65.  
 Aleppo, inscriptions from, ref. 43.  
 Alexandria, history of, ref. 42.  
 Aliens in China, 54.  
 Amenhotep II and the Exodus, 17  
 'Amud, Wadi, 37-38.  
 Arab saints, 62.  
 Arab street cries, ref. 42.  
 Arab influence on Musical Theory, ref. 9.  
 Arabs in Aden, 8-9.  
 Arabs and Indians still use Babylonian double month, 11.  
 Arabic adjectives denoting colour, ref. 42.  
 Arabic loan words in Spanish, ref. 58.  
 Arabic numerals, origin of their forms, 43.  
 Arabic and Hebrew, similarities of grammar, etc., 24.  
 Aramaic influence in N.T., 25.  
 Archaeological congress in Syria, 40.  
 Archery, Turkish, ref. 43.  
 Arthur, James, 4.  
 Aryeh, Jehudah, editor of a R.B., 48.  
 Association, International, Ethical (in China), 56.  
 Association, International, for the Unification of Religion (in China), 56.  
 Atma, use of word in Marathi Bible, 24.  
 Ba'albec visited, 41.  
 Babinger, Franz, in *der Islam*, 42.  
 Babylonian number systems and the Calendar, 9 ff.  
 Babylonian sexagesimal system, 12.  
 Badr al Din, ref. 42.  
 Baghandi, el, 7.  
 Barran-Dihigo, 58.  
 Ben Chayim, editor of R.B., 46-50.  
 Bergsträsser, in *der Islam*, 43.  
 Bethabara, name, 37 n. 1.  
 Bethany, name, 37 n. 1.  
 Bible, Christian book divisions of in R.B., 45.  
 Bible, Rabbinical, 44 ff. First, 45 ; Second, 46 ; Third, 47 ; Fourth, 48 ; Fifth, 48 ; Sixth, 49 ; Seventh, 51.  
 Bible, Rabbinical, possible that a special copy was printed for censor, 45.  
 Bibliography, Critical, in *der Islam*, 42.  
 Bomberg, Daniel, printer of R.B., 44 ff., 44 n. 2.  
 Bourgeois, Henri, 2 ; his gift of books, 59.  
 Bragadin, P. and L., printers of R.B., 48.  
 Braunschweig, Abraham b. Eliezer, co-editor of R.B., 49, 50.  
 Britain wrongly blamed for troubles in China, 54.  
 Buddhism, in China, 55 ff.  
 Buddhism, Neo-, in China, 56.  
 Burney, C. F., on Aramaic influence in the Fourth Gospel, reference 25.  
 Buxtorf, editor of R.B., 49.  
 Byblus, visited, 40.  
 Calendar, the, and Babylonian number systems, 9 ff.  
 Calendar, the, and Marduk, 12.  
 Canaan, invaded by Khabiru, 17.  
 Capernaum, 41.  
 Censorship of Jewish books, 51.  
 Chang Zoo-lin, 54.  
 Chayim, Ben, see Ben Chayim.  
 Chiang k'ai-Shek, 54.

- China, aliens in, 54; boycott of Japan, 53; Judaism in (Bibliography), 61; and Maimonides, 61; political and religious conditions (1927), 52 ff; religion in, 54 ff; religious tolerance of the people, 55; synagogue tablet in, 60; three important cults in, 85; unrest in, 52 ff.
- Chorazin, dolmens at, 37.
- Chronicles, 2 Chron. xxxv. 20, text of, 15.
- Clemen, Carl, in *der Islam*, 42.
- Conde, on Spanish history, ref. 58.
- Confucianism, 55 ff.
- Constitution and bye-laws of the Society, 73.
- Constitutional Dynasty in China, 52.
- Cuneiform inscriptions, reckoning by round numbers, 13.
- Damascus, inscriptions from, ref. 42.
- David, King, problems connected with Adullam, etc., in his history, 30-32.
- Day, divisions of, Greek, 12.
- Day, and year, beginning of, correlative, 14.
- Decimal numerals, Sumerian, 10.
- Deuteronomy, post-exilic theory, 29, 30.
- Dhorme, Père, 40.
- Dietrich, E. L., in *der Islam*, 43.
- Donaldson, Peter, 5.
- Dozy, on Spanish history, 57, 58.
- Duncan, J. G., at Jerusalem, 41.
- Eguilaz on Arabic loan words in Spanish, ref. 58.
- Egypt, loan words from Semitic referring to music in Egyptian, 27.
- Elijah, Joseph, poems by, included in R.B., 46, 48-50.
- Ephraim, significance of the name, 17.
- European affinities of Palestinian palaeolithic objects, 39.
- Exodus, date of the, 17, 18.
- Farabi, al, a pre-Islamic musical scale described by, 28.
- Farmer, Dr. H. G., 3; his paper on Arabian Influence on Musical Theory, ref. 9.
- Fayumi, Al, Arab lexicographer, on word "tanbur," 27 note.
- Feng Yu-hsiang, 54.
- Fisher, Dr., at Megiddo, 41.
- Flying Roll, the, 1 note.
- Frankfort, Moses of, editor of a R.B., 51.
- Fulaha, ref. 42.
- Gadd, C. J., on fall of Nineveh, 14.
- Gara, Giovanni de, printer of a R.B., 48.
- Gardner, Robert, 3; his death, 25.
- Gauhar, Arab Saint, 3.
- Gayangos, translation of Al Maggari, ref. 58.
- Goossens, Eduard, in *der Islam*, 43.
- Group Study, 6.
- Ginsburg, 45 ff.
- Gunbri, primitive N. African pandore, 28.
- Hadith, 7.
- Hall, H. R., views of, on date of the Exodus, 18.
- Harmhab, 18.
- Hasan al Basri, ref. 43.
- Harvard Theological Review, Survey of, 34.
- Hatshepsut, 18.
- Haussas, ref. 42.
- Hebrew and Arabic, grammatical, etc., similarities, 24.
- Hein, J., in *der Islam*, 43.
- Herod Antipas, 36.
- Herodias, 36.
- Herzfeld, E., in *der Islam*, 42.
- Hess, J., in *der Islam*, 42.
- Hold, the, of 1 Sam. xxii. identified with Masada, 31-32.
- Hölscher on Deuteronomy, 29.
- Hour, double, Babylonian unit, 10.
- Houston, J. E., 5.
- Hyksos and the Exodus, 17, 18.
- Ibn Baṭṭuṭa (Ibn Baṭuṭa) quoted, 28, 61, 62.
- Ibn Ezra, commentator, 46, 50.
- Ibn Ḥajar, on Musnad of Abdi'l Aziz, 7.
- Imam of San'a, 8.
- Indians and Arabs still use Babylonian double month, 11.
- Indians in Aden, 8.
- Inscriptions, cuneiform, reckoning in "round numbers," 13.
- Iraqi love songs, ref. 42.
- Islam, Der*, survey of, 42.
- Japan, boycotted by China, 53.
- Jauhari, al, quoted, 27.
- Jebel Shemsan at Aden, 63.
- Jensen, P., in *der Islam*, 42.
- Jerash, 41.
- Jeremiah, his statesmanship, 35 f.
- Jerusalem, Archaeology of, 41.
- Jesus ben Saphia, popular leader, A.D. 67, 37.
- Jewish books, censorship of, 51.
- Jewish Quarterly Review*, 61.
- Jews in Aden, 8.

- Jews, arrival of, in China, 62.  
 Joseph, story of, 16.  
 Josiah, King, his politics leading to the battle of Megiddo, 14, 15.  
 Jouvenel, M. de, at Archaeological Congress in Syria, 40.  
 Jubilee year, Hebrew, 13; of the Society, 2.  
 Julius Pollux, quoted on music, 26.  
 Kahle, P., in *der Islam*, 42.  
 K'ai fung fu, synagogue tablet at, 60, 61.  
 Kal'at el Huan, 40.  
 Kaspu, Babylonian double hour, also unit of length, 10, 11.  
 Kat, plant whose leaves are eaten in Aden, 8.  
 Kean, William, 5.  
 Keilah and David, 31, 32.  
 Kennedy, A. R. S., 5.  
 Khabiru, invade Canaan, 7.  
 Khayyam, Omar, Dr. Weir on, ref. 25.  
 Khorasan, history of, ref. 42.  
 Kings, 2 Kings xxviii. 29, text of, 8, 15.  
 Kinyra, is "kinnor," a musical instrument, 26.  
 Knight, Dr. G. A. F., view of date of the Exodus, 17.  
 König, Ludwig, publisher of a R.B., 49.  
 Koo, Dr. Wellington, 53.  
 Kurn Hattin, 37.  
 Kuşr Bint el-Melek, near Tiberias, 36.  
 Kwan Yin, Chinese goddess, showing influence of Mariolatry, 55.  
 Law, Moslem, ref. 43.  
 Lahej, 8.  
 Leap year, Babylonian, 14.  
 Length, unit of, governs unit of time, 11.  
 Lindsay, James, 5.  
 Littmann, Enno, in *der Islam*, 42.  
 Logos, 34.  
 Luao, Cyril, defended by Nectarius, 20.  
 Ma'alla, 8.  
 Macalister, Prof., at Jerusalem, 41.  
 Machaerus, prison for John, 36.  
 Magic and the Moslem pilgrimages, ref. 42.  
 Magic squares, 42.  
 Mahdi, of the Sudan, ref. 43.  
 Mahler, Edward, views on the date of the Exodus, 18.  
 Manchu dynasty in China, 52.  
 Maimonides, 61.  
 Maqqari, al, translations, ref. 58.  
 Marathi, the Bible in, 23 ff.  
 Marduk, influence of, on Calendar.  
 Masada = "The Hold," *q.v.*  
 Masdeu on Spanish history, 30, 57.  
 Massorah Magna in R.B., 50.  
 Massoretic text and LXX on Joseph, compared, 16.  
 Megiddo, battle of, politics involved, 14, 15.  
 Megillah, or Flying Roll, 1 note.  
 Membership of the Society, 71.  
 Memorial to Dr. Weir and Dr. Young, 70.  
 Memra, 34, 35.  
 Menéndez Pidal, 58.  
 Merneptah, 17.  
 Mizpah, site of, 41.  
 Modena, Leon da = Jehudah Aryah, *q.v.*  
 Mohammed, life of, ref. 42.  
 Monochordos, musical instrument, 26.  
 Montet, M., at Byblus, 41.  
 Month, Babylonian division of, 10; Double, 11; as fraction of year, 10; Roman names discussed, 11.  
 Moses, of Frankfort, editor of a R.B., 51.  
 Moslem law, ref. 43.  
 Muhammad Achmet, the Mahdi, ref. 43.  
 Mugharat Emirah, 38.  
 Mugharat ez Zuttiyeh, 38.  
 Music, Arabian influence on theory of, 9.  
 Musnad of Umar b. 'Abdi 'l-Aziz, 7.  
 Nagari letter forms and Arabic numerals, 43, 44.  
 Names, Oriental, transliteration of in this vol., 2.  
 Naqdan, Moses, on vowel points and accents, 46 note 3, 49.  
 Nebel, O.T. musical instrument, 26.  
 Nebel 'asor, O.T. musical instrument, 26.  
 Nectarius, on Papal supremacy, 19 ff; notes on the man and his work, 20.  
 Nefer, Egyptian musical instrument, 26.  
 Neo-Buddhism in China, 56.  
 Neo-Taoism in China, 56.  
 Nineveh, account of fall of, 14.  
 Nöldeke in *der Islam*, 42.  
 Numbers, "round," use of in cuneiform inscription, 13.  
 Numbers, symbolism of, 12.  
 Numerals, Arabic, origin of, 43.  
 Numerals and religion (Babylonian), 10.  
 Obituaries of Members, 72.

- Office-Bearers of the Society, 73.  
 Omar Khayyam, Dr. Weir on, ref. 25.
- Palaeolithic objects from Galilee, their apparent periods, 38.  
 Palmyra visited, 40.  
 Pandoura, musical instrument, 26.  
 Papal supremacy, Nectarius on, 19 ff.  
 Pesiq in R.B., 50.  
 Petra visited, 41.  
 Petrie, Flinders, his view of date of the Exodus, 17.  
 Pharaoh of the Exodus and of the Oppression, 17.  
 Pilgrimage, the Moslem, and magic, ref. 42.  
 Planets, first 5 then 7 recognised, 12.  
 Popular Assembly, attempt to establish, in China, 52, 53.  
 Potiphar, his office discussed, 16.  
 Prakrit, influence of, on form of Arabic numerals, 43, 44.  
 Prašek, on Scythians, Kimmerians and Umman Manda, 15.  
 Pratensis, Felix, editor of a R.B., 44.  
 Privilege, Papal, on R.B., 45.  
 Prize, Weir memorial, 3.  
 Psalterion dekachordon, in lxx., 26.  
 Puyol Alonso, ref. 58.  
 Pythagoreans and symbolism of numbers, 12.
- Qaryan in R.B., 45.  
 Qimchi, Moses, commentator in R.B., 46, 50.  
 Qur'an, certain points on, ref. 43.
- Raihan, Arab saint, 63.  
 Ramees II, 7.  
 Rashi, commentator in R.B., 47, 50.  
 Religion and numerals (Babylon), 10.  
 Revolution, Chinese, 52.  
 Rijal, 7.  
 Ritter, H., in *der Islam*, 42.  
 Rockstro, F. B., on R.B., 45, notes 3 and 4.  
 Rosseuw de St. Hilaire, on Spanish history, ref. 57.  
 Rowe, Allan, 41.  
 Ruske, Julius, in *der Islam*, 42.
- Safi al Din, Arabic musical theorist, 28.  
 Samaria, visited, 41.  
 San'a, Imam of, 8.  
 Saints, Arab, different ranks of, 63; festivals of, 63.  
 Schacht, J., in *der Islam*, 43.  
 Schaefer, H. H., in *der Islam*, 43.  
 Scythians as Umman Manda and attackers of Nineveh, 14, 15.
- Sellin, Prof., at Shechem, 41.  
 Semitic words bearing on music borrowed by Egyptian, 27.  
 Septuagint and M.T. compared on story of Joseph, 16.  
 Seven as a sacred number (Babylonian), 12.  
 Shalmaneser II, his method of expressing numbers, 13.  
 Shamash and numerals, 10.  
 Shanghai, incident of 1925 at, 53.  
 Shechem visited, 41.  
 Sheikh Abu Bekr, 63; Sheikh Ahmed, 63; Sheikh Hashim Bahr, 63.  
 Sheikh Othman (place), 8; (saint), 63.  
 Shekinah, the, 35.  
 Shi'ism, spread of, ref. 42.  
 Sin, Babylonian moon-god, and numerals, 10.  
 Skull, Galilee, finding of, 37.  
 Sobernheim, in *der Islam*, 42, 43.  
 Society, early years of G.U.O.S., 4 ff.  
 Socoto, history of, ref. 42.  
 Somalis in Aden, 8.  
 Soviet Russia and China, 54.  
 Spanish history, Dozy on, 57, 58.  
 Steamer Point, Aden, 8.  
 Stevenson, Prof. W. B., 3.  
 Strothmann, in *der Islam*, 42.  
 Study groups in the Society, 6.  
 Sumerian numerals, pre-cuneiform, 10.  
 Sumerian numerals, sexagesimal system imposed on decimal, 11, 12.  
 Symbolism of numbers, 12.  
 Synagogue Tablet in China, 60.
- Tanbur, derivation of word, 26, 27, 27 note 1; description of forms, 27, 28; evolution of, 26 ff.  
 Tang Huan-chang, 57.  
 Tao, force of word, 58.  
 Taoism, 55 ff; Neo-Taoism, 56.  
 Targum, Jerusalem in R.B., 45-50.  
 Targums of Prophets and writings in R.B., 45.  
 Tawahi, 8.  
 Taylor, John, 5.  
 Tell Hum, visited, 41.  
 Text of 2 Chron. xxxv. 20; superior to 2 Kings xxiii. 29, 15.  
 Thutmose, 17, 18.  
 Tiberias, 36.  
 Tiglath Pileser, his method of expressing numerals, 13.  
 Time, Babylonian unit of fixed by unit of length, 11.  
 Torrey, C. C., on Aramaic influence in Acts, 25.  
 Transactions, G.U.O.S., 1.

Transliteration of Oriental names in this vol., 2.

Turville-Petrie, 37 note 2, 38.

'Umar B. Abdi 'l-'Aziz, 7.

Umman Manda, 14, 15.

Unification of Religion, Society for, in China, 56.

University, Hebrew, of Jerusalem, 32 f.

Ur, note on slides of, 59.

Variant readings of Hebrew text, list in R.B., 46, 47, 49.

Watson, A. C., 5.

Week, lunar, Babylonian, 11; of 7 days for week of 5 days, 12.

Weir, Dr. Thomas, 3, 60, 70; memorial prize, 3.

Welch on Jeremiah, 35.

Year, Babylonian computations on, 10-12.

Year and day, beginnings of, correlate, 14.

Yiddish, discussed, 65 ff; specimen of, 69.

Young, Dr. James, 3, 5, 28, 70.

Yüan Shih-k'ai, 52, 53.

Zaid ben Ali, ref. 42.

Ziara, 9, 63.

Zodiac, Babylonian, 10, 12.

## GREEK WORDS DISCUSSED.

Ἀρχιμάρτυρος (Gen. xxxvii. 36 and xxxix. 1), 16.

εὐηρίσσει (Gen. xxxix. 4), 16.

εὐνούχος (Gen. xxxix. 1), 16.

ἰσχί (Gen. xlii. 9), 17; also ἰχνοσ.

καὶ κηξ (Gen. xli. 43), 16.

παρέσθης (Gen. xl. 4), 16.

σπάρδων (Gen. xxxvii. 36), 16.

## HEBREW WORDS AND PHRASES DISCUSSED.

אֶבְרָה (Gen. xli. 43), 16.

בְּלִעְדִּי (Gen. xli. 16), 16.

וַיִּשְׁרַת (Gen. xxxix. 4), 16.

מִן כִּרְכָּא הַיִּבְנָא (Numb. xxiv. 19), 51.

מִקְרָאוֹת גְּדֻלוֹת 44.

עֲרוֹת הָאָרֶץ (Gen. xlii. 9), 17.

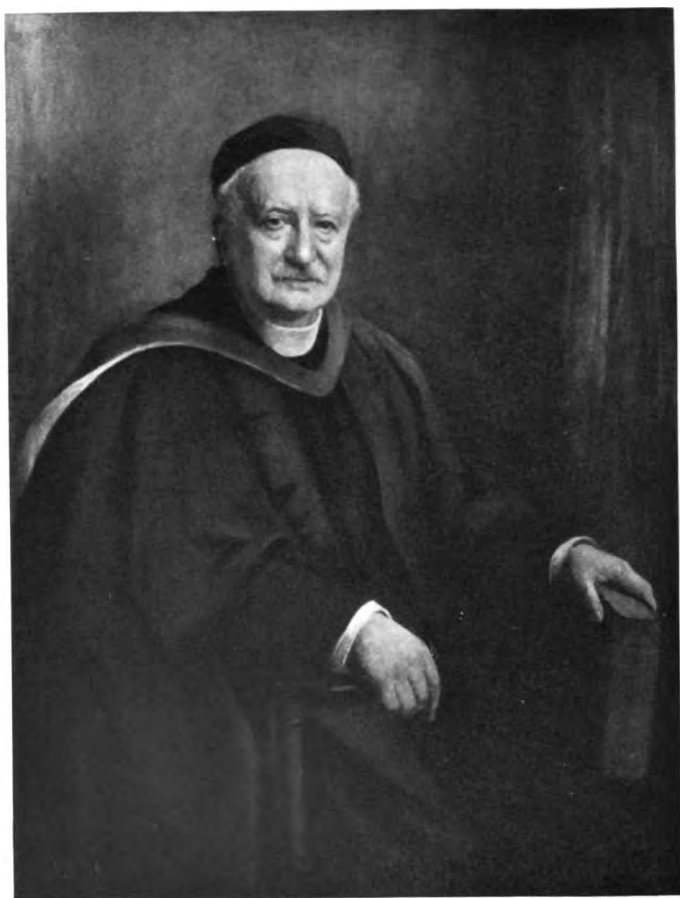
עַל-פֶּרֶת 2 (Chron. xxx. 25), 15.











Yours faithfully  
A. R. S. Kennedy

*Glasgow University Oriental Society*

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# Transactions

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# CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	v
By The Rev. James Robeson, M.A., <i>Editor</i> .	
JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS . . . . .	viii
By The Rev. James Robeson, M.A.	
EASTERN MYSTICISM AND SOME LIVING MYSTICS . . . . .	1
By The Rev. R. McCheyne Paterson, O.B.E., B.D.	
SOME ASPECTS OF THE CHRISTIAN AND HINDU DOCTRINES OF SALVA- TION . . . . .	2
By The Rev. R. B. Douglas, B.D.	
THE CRUSADING D'AUBIGNÉS AND BELVOIR CASTLE . . . . .	3
By The Rev. Andrew Baird, B.D.	
IS THE TABERNACLE A COPY OF THE TEMPLE, OR THE TEMPLE A COPY OF THE TABERNACLE? . . . . .	4
By Mr. R. B. Pattie, B.D.	
NOTES ON THE KINGDOM OF VIJAYANAGAR . . . . .	7
By Mr. Robert Morris, M.A.	
IS GENESIS I. 2 THE SCRIPTURE CITED IN JAMES IV. 5? . . . . .	8
By The Rev. J. P. Wilson, B.D.	
TURKISH ARTILLERY AT THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE . . . . .	9
By H. G. Farmer, Esq., Ph.D.	
A NEGLECTED LITERARY USAGE . . . . .	14
By Professor W. B. Stevenson, D.Litt., D.D.	
SOME PSYCHOLOGICAL TERMS OF THE BOOK OF PROVERBS . . . . .	22
By The Rev. E. J. Harris, B.D.	
HISTORY AND SOURCES OF THE JEWISH MASORAH . . . . .	22
By Professor W. B. Stevenson, D.Litt., D.D.	
SURVEY OF ORIENTAL STUDIES.—IV. P.E.F. QUARTERLY STATEMENTS, 1925-30 . . . . .	23
By The Rev. T. Crouther Gordon, D.F.C., B.D., Ph.D.	
E. J. W. GIBB . . . . .	24
By Miss Elizabeth H. Alexander, LL.D.	
GIBB MSS. IN GLASGOW UNIVERSITY LIBRARY . . . . .	29
ANCIENT EGYPTIAN INSTRUMENTS OF MUSIC . . . . .	30
By H. G. Farmer, Esq., Ph.D.	
CONDITIONS AND OUTLOOK IN PALESTINE . . . . .	34
By The Rev. W. M. Christie, D.D.	
THE IDOL OF CÁDIZ . . . . .	37
By Professor W. J. Entwistle, M.A.	
MOHENJO-DARO: THE INDUS VALLEY CIVILIZATION CIRCA 3000 B.C. . . . .	41
By Professor Wm. Fulton, B.Sc., D.D.	

	PAGE
AN ANCIENT PHENICIAN POEM DISCOVERED AT RAS SHAMRA . . . . .	44
By Professor W. B. Stevenson, D.Litt., D.D.	
ASHANTI WEIGHTS IN THE HUNTERIAN MUSEUM . . . . .	45
By The Rev. James Robson, M.A.	
PERSONAL EXPERIENCES IN THE NEAR EAST . . . . .	46
By Dr. W. H. McLean, M.I.C.E., M.P.	
THE JERICO POTTERY (1931 COLLECTION) IN THE HUNTERIAN MUSEUM . . . . .	47
By The Rev. John Mauchline, B.D.	
SEMITIC ELEMENTS IN THE POETRY OF ROBERT BROWNING . . . . .	51
By The Rev. Alexander Moffatt, B.D.	
THE MAGICAL USE OF THE KORAN . . . . .	51
By The Rev. James Robson, M.A.	
BABYLONIAN PRIVATE RITUALS . . . . .	61
By The Rev. C. J. Mullo Weir, B.D., D.Phil.	
CUNEIFORM RECORDS AND GENESIS XIV . . . . .	62
By The Rev. Nahum Levison, B.D.	
NOTES ON THE SYNTAX OF THE HEBREW CONSTRUCT . . . . .	63
By Mr. R. B. Pattie, B.D.	
THE CONGRESS OF ARABIAN MUSIC: CAIRO, 1932 . . . . .	64
By H. G. Farmer, Esq., Ph.D.	
BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS . . . . .	67
APPENDIX I.—THOMAS HUNTER WEIR MEMORIAL PRIZE . . . . .	70
APPENDIX II.—MEMORIAL MINUTE ON THE REV. F. A. STEUART, B.D. . . . .	70
APPENDIX III.—LIST OF MEMBERS, ORITUARY, OFFICE-BEARERS . . . . .	71
APPENDIX IV.—EXTRACTS FROM THE CONSTITUTION AND BYE-LAWS . . . . .	73
GENERAL INDEX . . . . .	74
INDEX OF BIBLICAL PASSAGES CITED . . . . .	77
PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY . . . . .	78



# TRANSACTIONS OF THE GLASGOW UNIVERSITY ORIENTAL SOCIETY

## INTRODUCTION

BY THE REV. JAMES ROBSON, M.A., *Editor*

THE period covered by this volume of *Transactions* has been a notable one in the annals of the Society, as it has seen the founding of the Weir Memorial Prize for Arabic Studies, the celebration of the Jubilee of the Society, the founding of a Publications Fund, and the celebration of Professor W. B. Stevenson's Semi-jubilee as President.

On 31st March 1930 a portrait of Dr. T. H. Weir was presented to the University, and a biennial prize for Arabic Studies was established.<sup>1</sup> By this memorial the Society paid tribute to the memory of one whose scholarship and kindness will not readily be forgotten.

The Society's Jubilee was celebrated in December 1930, and a report of the celebrations is given on p. viii. The exhibition of Palestinian, Persian, Indian, Chinese and Japanese objects and of Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Urdu MSS. proved to be of great interest and formed a valuable feature of the proceedings. To mark the occasion further, at its meeting in March 1931 the Society appointed as Honorary Members Principal Sir George Adam Smith, and Professors G. Baldwin Brown, J. Garstang, and A. H. Sayce.

A very important outcome of the Jubilee Celebrations was the establishment of a Publications Fund. It is hoped that ultimately this fund will help both in the more frequent publication of *Transactions* and in the publication of work done by Members. The Society has reason to regard with great satisfaction the

<sup>1</sup> For the Regulations see App. I, p. 70.

collection of about £225, without the help of which this volume could not have been published so soon. But the amount aimed at to meet the needs of the Society is a capital sum of at least £600, so we would again respectfully commend this Fund to the interest and generosity of Members and of friends of the University and of Oriental studies.

The celebration of the President's Semi-jubilee on 28th March 1933 was a very happy occasion. A goodly company of members and friends gathered in the College Rooms, where Professor Stevenson was presented with a grandfather clock (Maker, Geo. Hewitt, Marlbro. Period, 1720-30), and Mrs. Stevenson with a Sheffield plate coffee-pot. Since his appointment as President in 1908 Professor Stevenson has shown the keenest interest in the work of the Society and has spared no pains to enhance its usefulness. The Members of the Society were therefore glad to have such an appropriate opportunity of giving a tangible sign of their appreciation.

During the period under review the Society has received some valuable gifts. A set of beautiful rubbings of the Chinese Nestorian Inscription was presented by T. A. Boyd, Esq., and is now displayed in the Hunterian Museum. A number of books and pamphlets have also been presented from time to time, particularly by Dr. George Fraser Black, and they are housed in the Divinity Hall Library. To the donors of these gifts the Society expresses its thanks.

The losses sustained during the past five years have been particularly severe. No fewer than eleven deaths occurred. The Society has put on record its sense of loss in the death of the Rev. F. A. Steuart, the late Recording Secretary, who did so much for it during his only too short term of office.<sup>1</sup> Among the others one notes with sorrow the names of some of our older members and also of two of the Honorary Members so recently appointed.

Altogether the Society has lost fifteen Members, but this is compensated for by the appointment of twenty new Members, among whom are the first two lady Members.

The display of recent publications has become a regular

<sup>1</sup> See App. II, p. 70.

feature of the October meeting, and it is hoped that this, along with the classified list which is published in the *Minutes*, will continue to be of interest to Members. Among the books displayed during the quinquennium twenty have been written by Members of the Society. This in itself speaks well for the necessity of a strong Publications Fund.

A new feature of our meetings which might become more prominent has been the reading of brief communications. This affords a method by which Members living abroad or at a distance can keep in touch with the Society and add interest to its proceedings; so we would take this opportunity of commending it particularly to their notice.

We are glad to have the opportunity of gracing this Volume with the portrait of Professor A. R. S. Kennedy, our second oldest Member, who takes a keen interest in the Society's proceedings and whose contributions to its meetings are greatly valued.

The precedent set in earlier volumes of giving some papers at full length has been continued and extended. The Committee decided which of the papers read should have the greatest space given to them, and the number of pages that should be allotted to each. It is hoped that the present volume will thereby be of greater interest and value both to the Society and to a wider public, and will better help to promote the studies to which the Society is dedicated.

In conclusion we would express our thanks to Miss Alexander and Dr. Farmer for providing the blocks for the illustrations of their papers on E. J. W. Gibb and Turkish Artillery respectively, and also to Professor Stevenson for the time and labour he has spent on the production of this volume. Several of the summaries of papers have been made by him, and he has helped most generously with his advice and in the correction of proofs.

JAMES ROBSON.

THE UNIVERSITY, GLASGOW.

*August, 1934.*

# GLASGOW UNIVERSITY ORIENTAL SOCIETY

## JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS

*Adopted at the meeting held on 30th March, 1931*

The Society held its Jubilee Celebrations on Tuesday, 16th December, 1930. At 3.30 p.m. a Reception was held in the Hunterian Museum, the President and Mrs. Stevenson receiving the guests. Twenty-three Members and twenty-five friends were present.

After tea the guests had an opportunity of inspecting a collection of Oriental MSS. and other objects of interest. Thereafter the President took the chair, and after some introductory remarks called on Dr. G. A. F. Knight to put the following resolution to the Meeting:

"That this gathering of the members and friends of Glasgow University Oriental Society, assembled to commemorate the completion of fifty years of its existence, gratefully recalls the pioneer work of its founder, Professor James Robertson, and his early associates, gladly recognises the present prosperity of the Society and hopefully looks forward to its continual growth in usefulness and influence."

The resolution was supported by Professor Baldwin Brown and unanimously adopted.

A second resolution was moved by Principal Rait:

"That this meeting of the members and friends of Glasgow University Oriental Society cordially approves of the establishment of a Publication Fund and warmly commends the proposal to the support of friends of the University and of Oriental Studies."

This resolution was supported by Professor Garstang and unanimously adopted.

The President then called on Mr. R. B. Pattie, the only survivor of the original four members of the Society, to make

acknowledgment on behalf of the Society. This brought the afternoon proceedings to a close.

In the evening at 8 p.m. a public Lantern Lecture on "The Walls of Jericho" was delivered by Professor Garstang in the Lecture Room of the Botanical Department. The lecture was well attended by members of the Oriental Society, the Archæological Society, the University Staff, and the general public. The President introduced Professor Garstang, and at the close of the lecture proposed a vote of thanks. The good wishes of the Archæological Society were expressed by Mr. Ludovic Mann. The President was also thanked for his conduct in the chair.

The thanks of the Society are due to the University Court, the President and Mrs. Stevenson, for the hospitality extended by them to the guests at the Reception; to the President and Dr. Farmer for the excellent manner in which they arranged the exhibits for the exhibition; to thirty-five ladies and gentlemen who kindly lent objects for the exhibition; and to Mr. Alex. Cunningham, Secretary of the Egypt Society, who kindly undertook the duty of sending out notices of the meetings to members and friends, and advertisements to the *Glasgow Herald*.

The exhibition remained open for a period of about four weeks to give a further opportunity of viewing the objects which had been collected.

The Society has reason to congratulate itself on the manner in which it celebrated its Jubilee. The functions held on 16th December were very successful. Preparatory to the celebrations, an article by Professor Entwistle was published in the *Glasgow Herald* on Saturday, 6th December, in which an account was given of the institution of the Society, of its work and its prospects. On the day following the celebrations the *Glasgow Herald* gave a very adequate account of the proceedings. It is felt that the Society has made good use of the occasion to bring its work before the public, and it is hoped that it may look forward to a career of increased usefulness in the future.



## TRANSACTIONS, 1929-1933

*25th March, 1929*

This meeting was attended by 16 members and one visitor. The President intimated that T. A. Boyd, Esq. had presented to the Society a set of beautiful rubbings of the Chinese Nestorian Inscription, and that arrangements were being made for their proper mounting and display, as the property of the Society, in the Hunterian Museum. The three papers summarised below were read.

### EASTERN MYSTICISM AND SOME LIVING MYSTICS

BY THE REV. R. MCHEYNE PATERSON, O.B.E., B.D.

ALL mysticism is founded on the four beliefs, that this life is unsatisfying, that there is another higher life, that there is in man a longing to attain the higher life and that this longing can be satisfied. The paper here summarised aimed at showing the widespread presence in Oriental religions of mystic practice and belief.

The Rig Veda, the oldest of the sacred books of the East, already exhibits, or hints at a form of mysticism in which the end aimed at is absorption in the supreme divine Being.

"Thou art ours and we are Thine. . . ."

"We, O Gods, are in you."

The method to be followed is that of contemplation.

"Contemplating thee with a heart that lauds thee."

"Gazing towards the upper light beyond the darkness."

The Upanishads more explicitly express a mystic philosophy in which contemplation is the path of absorption into the Divine.

"He who knows Brahm, he is already Brahm."

In Persia Zoroaster introduced a mystic dualism, which may be called an optimistic mysticism, because it maintains that Light will ultimately destroy the rival power of Darkness. The mysticism thus implanted in Persia survived under Islam and produced the Sufi saints of the Muslim

period, among whom Rābī'a of Basra (ninth century A.D.) was a mystic of the mystics. She taught that love alone enables the soul to rise up to communion with God. Persian mysticism is pantheistic and eclectic and is influential to the present day.

It might be thought that Buddha, who denied the existence of a supreme Being and was therefore a pessimist, could not also be a mystic. Yet his doctrine of annihilation (Nirvana) is a mysticism of absolute negation in which all desire is destroyed and so pain ceases. In Hinduism the Vedānta philosophy is a pantheistic mysticism in which all individuality is swallowed up. It has reached the ultimate unitive stage of mysticism in which the goal is a complete absorption into the divine.

According to the teaching of Lao-tze, "the best action is inaction." This is the way (Tao) by which the ideal state of mind can be reached, and it expresses a type of mysticism. Even in the more practical doctrine of Confucius there is an element of mysticism since he declares the necessity of self-contemplation and self-realisation. "What the superior man seeks is in himself."

In modern times the poet Kabir was a mystic who sought to combine Mohammedanism with certain Hindu beliefs. Guru Nānāk, the founder of the Sikh religion, was a quietist mystic whose Prayer Book is still recited daily by all Sikhs.

## SOME ASPECTS OF THE CHRISTIAN AND HINDU DOCTRINES OF SALVATION

BY THE REV. R. B. DOUGLAS, B.D.

MAN's chief end, according to the Hindu view of life, is to obtain *Moksha* or *Mukti*. Both words have the same meaning and may better be rendered emancipation or deliverance than salvation.

The outlook of the Vedas is limited to the present life, and in them deliverance is sought only from the adverse conditions of earthly existence.

Of the six systems of Hindu philosophy based upon the Upanishads, that of Shankara (ninth century) has exercised the deepest and most far-reaching influence. Its teaching is that existence is an illusion and a misery from which emancipation is to be sought through identification with Brahman. He who seeks the satisfaction of desire in activity obtains the fruit of his deeds and returns by transmigration to the world of action. He who does not desire, or who desires the Self only, being Brahman, goes to Brahman. Emancipation is won by the knowledge that Ātman-Brahman is the one reality.

Popular Hinduism honours Shankara but follows in practice the teaching of Rāmānuja (twelfth century), his great rival, who sought release not by the way of knowledge, but by that of *bhakti*, or devotion. For both



teachers salvation is emancipation from transmigration and a union with the Supreme Spirit, but according to Rāmānuja union with Brahman does not involve the extinction of the individual.

In modern India *jñāna-mārga* (way of knowledge) is regarded as possible only for the few, and even for them only after long and severe discipline. In practice it is the prerogative of the Brāhmins, and even of them only a few undertake it. *Bhakti-mārga*, the way of faith or loving devotion, on the other hand, is open to all, even to the untouchable outcastes, and in it the deepest form of Indian religious life is expressed. Many great bhakti revivals of varying types have from time to time quickened and renewed this form of Indian faith.

The *Bhagavad Gītā* (Divine Song) is a poem much prized by educated Hindus, in which the relation of the way of works to the way of knowledge is set forth. According to its teaching salvation is to be sought by doing one's duty in the world with freedom from attachment to the fruit of works. With this selfless activity there must be conjoined *bhakti*, or devotion, directed at choice to any deity, such as Krishna. In the *Bhagavad Gītā* God is attractively portrayed as one who is gracious and willing to be loved and trusted.

The exposition of Hindu doctrine summarised above was followed by an indication of the differences between it and Christian teaching.

## THE CRUSADING D'AUBIGNÉS AND BELVOIR CASTLE

BY THE REV. ANDREW BAIRD, B.D.

IN this paper it was suggested that the building of Belvoir Castle (*Kaukab al Hawā*) above Baisān, first mentioned in an account of 1182 as *Castellum Novum*, was associated with the coming of Ralph D'Albini to the Holy Land. This Crusader was a descendant of Robert de Todeni who founded Belvoir Castle in Leicestershire.

8th October, 1929

Fifteen members were present at this meeting. The President announced that space had been allotted in the Divinity Hall Library for books, etc., belonging to the Society, and that members could have access to them at hours when this library was open. The three papers summarised below were read, and a number of recent books were shown and commented upon.

# IS THE TABERNACLE A COPY OF THE TEMPLE, OR THE TEMPLE A COPY OF THE TABERNACLE?

BY MR. R. B. PATTIE, B.D.

THIS paper is virtually an appendix to an unpublished book, which is to set forth new views of the Tabernacle and the Temple, based on the assumption that the various authors said exactly what they meant. Readers are therefore requested to take the attached plans for granted, provisionally, and not to criticise them as departing from tradition.

One diagram shows the arrangement of the frames (רָמָּס) in the Tabernacle. The other shows the essential features of Ezekiel's Temple; but serves also for Solomon's, since the alleged differences disappear on examination.

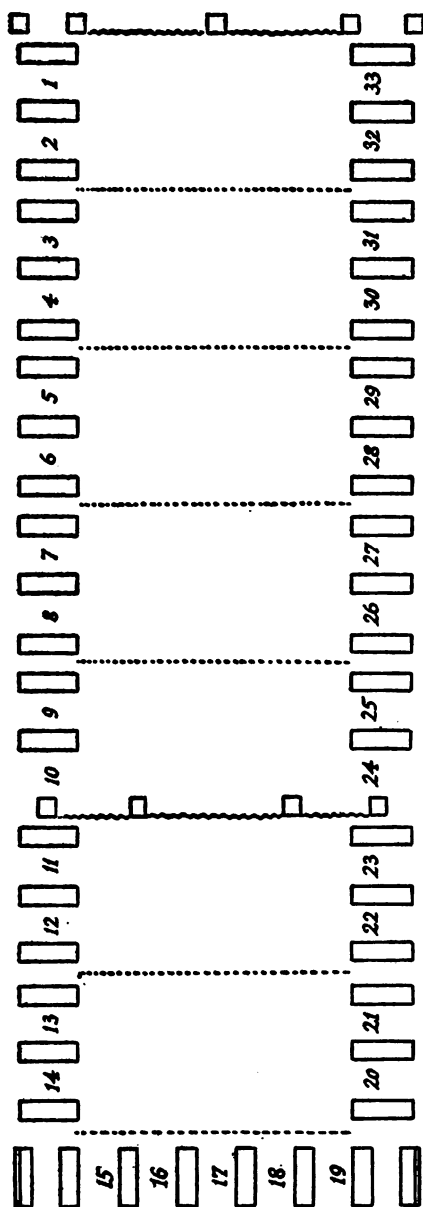
In both, and also in Herod's plan, "side chambers" (רָמָּס) appear. These are primarily "ribs", projecting inwards from a continuous wall. In the Tabernacle they are frames, standing apart, with their *edges* against the curtains. In the Temples they are partitions, incompletely dividing the space between the inner and outer walls. The name is also applied to the intervals or recesses between the ribs, and further, to the complex of ribs and intervals.

The ribs are essential in the Tabernacle. In the Temple they are not necessary to the construction, not even to the outer structure which did not "take hold" of the main building. An avowed superfluity in the Temple could not have been adopted as a main constructive feature of the design of the Tabernacle; but it is credible that it was retained in the Temple as a reminiscence of the Tabernacle.

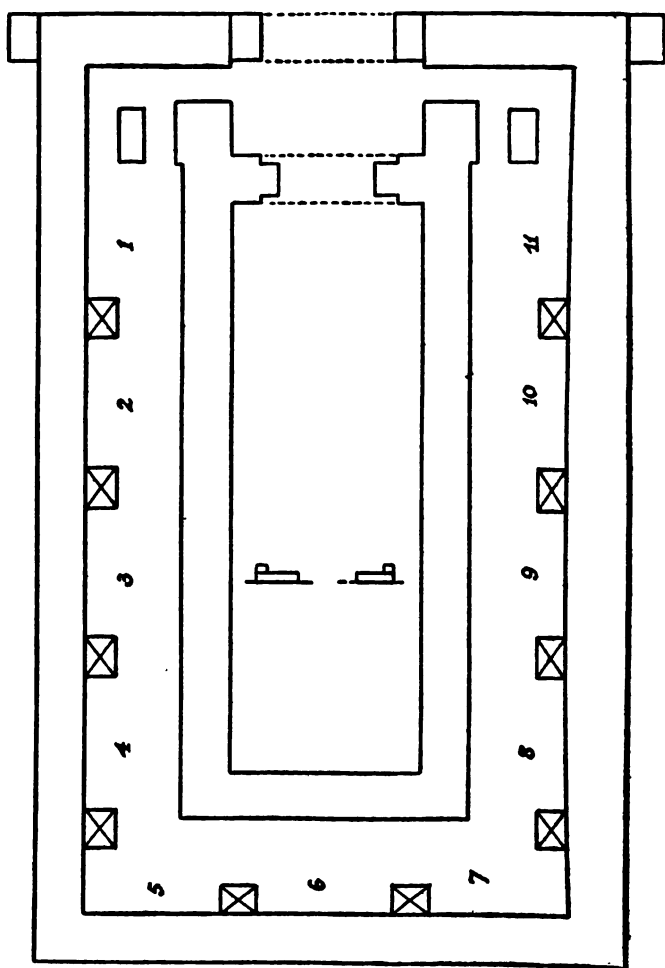
There is a further reminiscence in the *number* of the recesses. In the Tabernacle there are 33 of full size, and 12 of less importance: in the Temple there are 11 on each storey, or 33 in all. In the Tabernacle, the number is determined by the arrangement of the curtains: in the Temple it might have been different, as it actually was in Herod's plan.

The design of the Tabernacle is single. The Temple, in all its forms, is essentially a double structure. The inner building follows the proportions of the Tabernacle: the outer imitates its structure.

A symbolic ratio of seven to ten occurs repeatedly in the Tabernacle, though it is not expressly mentioned in the text. Of ten curtains only seven were fully displayed over the top and sides. The length of the curtains, joined in one piece, was 40 cubits, enough to cover the top and the west end: the breadth, 28 cubits, stretching over the top and two sides of the Tabernacle, left a cubit bare at the bottom on each side. The breadth of the interior, from side-curtain to side-curtain, was 10 cubits: that of the free space in the middle from frame to frame was 7 cubits. The length of the Holy Place was seven-tenths of the distance from the eastern points of the western frames to the hanging at the entrance. Of the frames,



Dotted lines mark the junctions of the overhead Linen Curtains: wavy lines the perpendicular Veil and Hanging.  
Scale:  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch = 1 cubit



The Inner Wall is shown as on the Upper Story. Scale:  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch = 5 cubits

four times seven belong to the outer chamber, and twice ten to the inner. The three entrances to the Sanctuary together make seven cubits out of the full breadth of ten. Here ten seems to point to a divine ideal, seven to the measure in which that could for the time be realised in worship.

As the Temple was understood to mark an advance in religion, this symbolism was not proper in it. Its only expression is found at the entrance to the Porch, which measured 14 cubits out of the possible 20.

The seven-ten ratio could easily have been imitated at the entrance to the Sanctuary: in fact, it was flatly contradicted, seven-tenths of the space being blocked. The designer of the Temple understood the symbol of imperfection, and carefully confined it to the outer region, which was intended to recall the Tabernacle.

Conclusion:—The Tabernacle was the model of the Temple: the theory which implies the contrary must be modified or abandoned.

## NOTES ON THE KINGDOM OF VIJAYANAGAR

By MR. ROBERT MORRIS, M.A.

By the year 1325 all northern India and the Deccan down to about the 16th parallel of northern latitude had become subject to Mohammadan rulers. During the subsequent 250 years no advance was made. This was due to the rise of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar founded about 1335 by Harihara, former minister of the Raja of Ānegundi on the river Timgabhadra, who had been made governor of the little state by Mohammad Tughlak, king of Delhi, and who made himself independent after that king's death. In 1331 he founded Vijayanagar (town of victory) opposite Ānegundi on the south bank of the river. He and his successors gradually incorporated all the states south of the river Kistna and held them against attacks by the Mohammadan kings of Gulbarga, a state established in 1347, which embraced the Deccan north of the Kistna.

The descendants of Harihara degenerated and were supplanted about 1490 by Narasimha, whose illustrious son Krishna, or Krishna Dēvarāya, won a great victory at Raichur in 1520 over Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shah, ruler of Bījāpūr, one of the states into which Gulbarga had broken up. This success rendered the Hindu insupportably arrogant, with the result that all the Mohammadan states of the Deccan united and defeated the Hindus at Talikota. Vijayanagar was utterly destroyed.

At the height of its power Vijayanagar was visited by various travellers, from Nicolo Conti and 'Abdurrazzāq in the first half of the fifteenth century to Portuguese envoys and traders down to the middle of the sixteenth. All describe the great riches of the capital where the products of Arabia, Ceylon and China were found in profusion. One may therefore expect some reference to it, possibly in a distorted form, in the *Thousand and One*

*Nights*, as the authors show a knowledge of the countries bordering the Indian Ocean.

Three references have been detected. One is simply a mention of the name. The second is the story of diamond merchants who obtained diamonds by throwing into a steep valley lumps of meat which were carried with diamonds adhering to them by eagles to their nests. The eagles were driven off and the diamonds were removed from the meat. Conti describes the site of the mine which he identified as Kollur on the Kistna within the Vijayanagar dominions.

The third and fullest reference is in the tale of Prince Ḥosain and the fairy Bānū. Ḥosain goes to Vijayanagar, and a fairly long description of the city is given. The account tallies so closely with the reports of travellers that there can be no doubt that it is taken from the reports of eye-witnesses. Ḥosain had an audience of the king which is related in terms very similar to an account by Paez of an audience given by Krishna Dēvarāya to certain Portuguese. Lastly Ḥosain was present at an annual festival the description of which tallies exactly with what we know of the Mahānavami festival in Vijayanagar.

## IS GENESIS I. 2 THE SCRIPTURE CITED IN JAMES IV. 5?

BY THE REV. J. P. WILSON, B.D.

THE text in James is a well-known crux. ἡ γραφή usually indicates a specific passage of Scripture. This passage has not been identified. Is it perhaps from a Greek paraphrase, as Hort suggested? Genesis i. 2 may be the text paraphrased. In a footnote to Mayor's Commentary on James (p. 141) Taylor, referring to Deut. xxxii. 11 where πνύ is translated in the Septuagint by ἐπιπρόθεσεν, says, "The same Hebrew word is used of the Spirit in Genesis i. 2 where the like rendering would give πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπιπρόθει."

I suggest that the paraphrast quoted by James may have written προφθάνον ἐπιπρόθει τὸ πνεῦμα ὃ κατέκχεσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, giving human significance *more homiletico* to the brooding of the Spirit upon the face of the waters. Thus the text of James would mean, "Think ye that the Scripture saith without significance, The Spirit (at the creation of the world) was yearning by anticipation over the creation of man, who was designed to be the habitation of His indwelling power?" This interpretation is in harmony with the context of James, which warns men against the friendship of the world as inconsistent with the friendship of God.

πρὸς φθόνον is difficult. φθόνος is not elsewhere in Scripture attributed to the Divine Being. In place of πρὸς φθόνον I conjecture προφθάνον as above.

31st March, 1930

At this meeting 17 members were present. After some preliminary business the members met along with 21 subscribers to the Weir Memorial Fund, not members of the Society, for the presentation of the Weir Memorial. The gifts, which consisted of a portrait of Dr. T. H. Weir and a sum of money to found a Biennial Prize for Arabic Studies,<sup>1</sup> were accepted on behalf of the University by Principal Rait. Thereafter the two papers summarised below were read, and a Survey of Oriental Studies in the Z.A.T.W. (1926-28) was given by the Rev. Duncan Cameron, D.D.

## TURKISH ARTILLERY AT THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE

By H. G. FARMER, Esq., Ph.D.

THREE of the outstanding military feats contributing to the fall of Constantinople were: (1) the building of Rümeli Hisar; (2) the transporting of the Turkish light fleet over the Galata headland into the Golden Horn, and (3) the construction of monster guns. It is the last of these that is the subject of this paper, and it is one that deserves special attention because it is doubtful if the city would have been taken by assault had it not been for the damage made by the concentrated fire of the Turkish artillery. It is true that the Greeks had only 10,000 men against the 70,000 mustered by the Turks, but the triple walls of the city, in spite of their bad condition, made the city almost impregnable.

The outer wall encircling the city was lower than the inner wall which was 60 feet high. The parapet or ditch was 140 feet wide. These walls, which carried 112 towers, and ditch, in triple formation, encircled the land side of the city with the exception of a spot near the Crooked Gate (Egri kapısı), where there was but a single wall and no ditch, although one was dug at this point before the siege commenced. The entire Turkish force faced these walls, but from the Golden Gate to the Golden Horn there was no fighting. The Turkish fleet might have done some damage on this side, but it was dealt such a trouncing when it first took the offensive that it contented itself with blockading duties for the remainder of the siege.

The Sultān pitched his tent opposite St. Roman's Gate and this became, as was the custom, the centre of the attack. Here the Turks placed a battery of monster guns, whilst batteries of smaller calibre were placed opposite every other gate, as well as two more batteries, one on Galata Hill and another on a pontoon in Qāsim Pāshā Bay.

<sup>1</sup> For the regulations approved by the University Court, see Appendix I, p. 70.

Monster guns such as those used by the Turks on this occasion appear to have been unknown to Christian Europe, and even the largest guns of the latter that have come down to us, such as those of Mont S. Michel (ca. 1423), Mons Meg of Edinburgh (ca. 1460) and Dulle Griete of Ghent (ca. 1460), are much smaller than those used by the Turks at this period.

Artillery was first employed by the Turks at Semendria in 1440, but since that date there had been considerable improvement in that arm of the Turkish forces. As soon as the Sultān had made up his mind to lay siege to Constantinople he began elaborate preparations on the artillery side. It was generally agreed among his master gunners that heavier artillery was necessary if breaches were to be made in the walls, and it was decided that, if necessary, the smaller artillery pieces would be scrapped so as to provide the requisite metal for the larger guns.

The Sultān was fortunate enough to have a skilled Director of Artillery in a Greek named Urban. Yet it must not be assumed that the latter was responsible for the monster guns which were constructed by the Turks, or even that the idea was borrowed from the Greeks. Indeed, when the Turks first placed their monster guns in position, Urban was at a loss to know how to handle them, and the Greeks themselves had no gun larger than what was capable of throwing a shot of 186-75 lb., whilst the smallest Turkish gun threw a shot of 249 lb.

The first monster gun of the Turks was cast at Adrianople early in 1453. The Sultān was present at its first performance which took place before his new palace. The force of the discharge was felt or heard for a hundred furlongs, whilst the shot, driven above a mile, buried itself a fathom deep in the soil. Gibbon says that the weight of the shot was 600 lb. This must be an error because Leonardus Chiensis, who measured the shot, says that it was eleven palms in circumference. This would give a diameter of about 33.2 in., so that the shot must have weighed quite double what Gibbon says. At any rate, Phranzis, a Greek who also took part in the siege, says that the shot weighed 1200 lb. which, in view of the diameter, is probably correct.

There was great jubilation in the Turkish camp at the result of the monster gun's performance and it was escorted with great ceremony, but still greater labour, to the seat of war. It was escorted by 10,000 irregular cavalry under Karaja Bey and was carried on 30 (*sic*) linked wagons drawn by 60 yoke of oxen, with 200 workmen on either side, whilst 250 sappers prepared the roads and bridges in advance.

The labour entailed in the transport of the gun prompted the Turks to build their next one on the spot at Constantinople. This is to be inferred from another Greek writer, Kritobulos, who also served in the Turkish army. He describes the founding of a still larger gun which was called Basiliake, a name which later came to be the term used throughout Europe for the heaviest type of gun.

Kritobulos gives precise details of this gun. 1500 talents of bronze



were used in the casting, and if we assume a talent to be equal to half a hundredweight, the metal used was 37.5 tons. Allowing for the usual waste, the gun, when finished, must have weighed about 32 tons. It was cast on its face, i.e. its muzzle, the dead-head being at the other end which nowadays is called the breech. This dead-head was hewn off with axes, probably whilst the metal was still hot.

The diameter of the gun was probably 32.4 in., and took a shot of 1494 lb. in weight. Kritobulos also gives details of loading and firing. First, the chamber was filled with powder. Against this a concave wad or stopper of wood was rammed tight, and into the concavity the stone shot was jammed. Finally, the priming powder was added to the vent. The gun had no trunnions nor carriage, like the later guns, but rested on a plain wooden cradle, the back of the gun being strongly supported by huge blocks of wood (later a stone wall) so as to prevent the recoil. As to the discharge, Kritobulos says: "First ensued a terrible muttering and a shaking of the very ground beneath and around. . . . Then, with a lightning flash, a horrifying uproar, and a flame scorching and blackening all around . . . the stone issued from the gun."

Turkish historians tell us that the artillery under this sultān comprised 700 gunners and 3000 assistant gunners, but this large establishment must have been later than the siege of Constantinople. The Greek historians, who actually took part in the defence of the city, say that the Turks had sixty-nine guns battering the walls. They were divided into fifteen batteries. Five batteries had four small guns each, nine had four small and one large gun each, whilst at St. Roman's Gate there were four monster guns, the giant Basiliske and three others. From the same source we learn that most of the Turkish shot were stone balls from 249 lb. to 747 lb. in weight, whilst the larger guns threw shot from 996 lb. to 1494 lb. From this information, and that derived from extant specimens of contemporary Turkish guns, as well as from details gleaned from the accounts of the siege of Scutari, we can roughly estimate the calibre of the Turkish guns and their output in shot at the siege of Constantinople.

The giant Basiliske was the one that threw the shot of 1494 lb., whilst its three companions were responsible for those of 1182 lb. The other nine large guns were evidently those that delivered a shot of 996 lb., whilst we may hazard a guess and suppose that among the small guns there were twenty throwing a shot of 747 lb., and thirty-six throwing a shot of 249 lb. At any rate there were fifty-six small guns, and we know that they were responsible for the shots of the above weight.

We are told that the four monster guns opposite St. Roman's Gate could only be fired seven times a day. Twenty-five years later, at Scutari, they managed to fire them twelve times a day. If we assume that all the guns fired alike (although it is obvious that the smaller guns were capable of a much quicker service) we can estimate approximately the total number of shots fired. The siege lasted forty-nine days. If we deduct the eight

odd days for periods of armistice and other contingencies we get forty days of gunfire. This gives us a total of 19,320 shots fired at, or into, Constantinople, or 3231 tons of projectiles.

#### NUMBER OF TURKISH GUNS USED AGAINST CONSTANTINOPLE IN 1453

Class of Gun.	Number Used.	Weight of Shot in lb.	Weight Fired per Day in lb.
2 Kantars	36	249	62,748
6 Kantars	20	747	104,580
8 Kantars	9	996	62,748
9.5 Kantars	3	1182	24,822
12 Kantars	1	1494	10,458

Against this bombardment the Greeks had nothing larger than guns throwing shot of 186.75 lb.

The monster guns of the Turks in the battery opposite St. Roman's Gate did great damage. The first shot from Basiliske on 11th April, the first day of the siege, caused much alarm in Constantinople. For a day or two, however, the Turks had trouble with their monster guns. First they had difficulty with the elevation. Then one of the guns, which had become overheated, burst and killed several workmen. This latter defect was soon remedied as it was found that by sponging the interior with oil after each discharge there was no danger. When the gunners found their correct elevation, one of the towers of St. Roman's Gate came tumbling down under the fire of their monster guns. Barbaro the Venetian, who fought with the Greeks, said that if the Turks had attacked at that moment they could have entered the city by that breach. Between the 25th and 27th of April further breaches were made at several points along the wall, and on the 30th another breach was made at St. Roman's Gate. Basiliske shook the old wall by her first discharge and with her second made a breach five feet wide. The next day the Turks concentrated the fire of their smaller guns on this point and then turned Basiliske once more on its work of destruction. This time, however, it was badly aimed and, missing the wall, struck the wall of a church just beyond, smashing it to powder.

On the 6th of May more guns appeared before St. Roman's Gate and soon another breach was made near the gate itself. On the following day the breach was widened by further gunfire and at night the Turks made an assault but were repulsed. From the 8th to the 11th of May between 100 and 120 projectiles from the heavier guns were hurled against or into the city. The battery at the Crooked Gate (Egri kapısı) made a breach on the 12th, and at nightfall the Turks rushed through the gap. They managed to penetrate the city as far as the Palace, and only by mustering every available defender were the Greeks able to stem the invasion. On the 14th the battery before St. Roman's Gate was strengthened by some





Fig. 1



Fig. 3

**TURKISH**

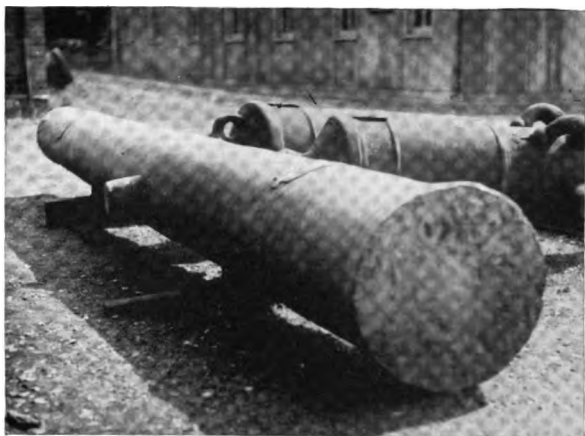


Fig. 2

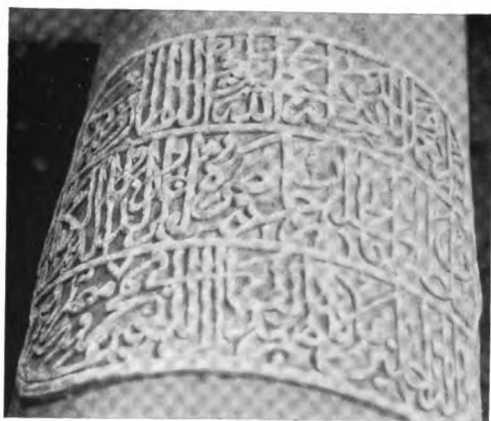


Fig. 4

## ARTILLERY



guns from Galata Hill. Another breach was made at a different part of the wall, a tower being brought down at the same time.

The 28th was the day of the fall of the city. A further breach having been made at St. Roman's Gate, the final assault began, and this became the centre of the most terrible fighting of the whole siege. Even here the Greeks might have held their own had it not been that whilst they were concentrating all their attention and energies on the defence of this point the Turks entered the city by an unguarded gate.

As already mentioned, batteries were also mounted on Turkish boats in the Golden Horn and also on a pontoon, the latter being the first of its kind, probably, in history. It did considerable damage to the Greek ships. Then there was the battery on Galata Hill. This was only able to command the Golden Horn north of Qāsim Pāshā Bay because the walls of Galata stood between the battery and the mouth of the Horn, a circumstance which enabled the Greek ships to anchor in safety near the harbour chain. Yet the Sultān pointed out to Zagan Pāshā, who commanded the battery on Galata Hill, that, by constructing a special kind of gun, a shot could be fired high in the air above Galata which would, by this means, reach the shipping at the chain. In eighteen days a gun (actually a mortar) was constructed, and, on the 5th of May, it sent a Genoese ship, with a cargo worth 12,000 ducats, to the bottom. The Christian fleet took fright and immediately moved outside the harbour chain.

After the fall of Constantinople, the Turks, flushed with their success with these monster guns, cast even larger pieces of artillery, and at Scutari in 1478 they had a gun throwing a shot of 1640 lb. At Rhodes in 1480 sixteen monster guns measuring 18 ft. long were cast which threw a still larger shot.

There are many specimens of Turkish guns preserved in this country. Perhaps the most interesting is the screw gun at the Rotunda Museum at Woolwich.<sup>1</sup> Like others of its kind, it carries an embossed inscription. In this case it is on the muzzle (see plate, fig. 1) and it reads as follows:

"Help, O Allāh. Sultān Muḥammad Khān ibn Murād.

The construction of Munir 'Alī in the month of Rajab,

In the year 868 (= A.D. 1464)."

Its length is 16 ft. 7 in. and the diameter of the muzzle is 1 ft. 8 in. It has neither a cascable nor trunnions but, like the monster guns described earlier, rested on a cradle. It is a gun of 5 kantars and threw a shot of 670 lb. It is, of course, quite a small gun in comparison with the monsters previously mentioned. Still, it has this interest that it dates from within eleven years of the fall of Constantinople.

<sup>1</sup> When this paper was written (1927-8), this gun was at the Rotunda Museum at Woolwich and the accompanying photographs were taken by the present writer at that time. It has since been removed to the Tower of London and has been made the subject of a paper by Charles Foulkes, B.Litt., Curator of the Armoury at the Tower, published in *The Antiquaries Journal* (1939) x. 217. For an earlier account see *The Archaeological Journal* (1868) xxv. 261; *Journal of the Royal Artillery Institution*, vi. 203.

As a further example, a sixteenth-century Turkish gun captured at Aden is given here (see plate, fig. 2). Here one can see quite plainly the axe marks that were made when cutting away the dead-head after casting as we have described in the siege of Constantinople guns. There are inscriptions on both the chase and reinforce. They are very beautifully done and are typical examples of the inscriptions on Oriental guns (see plate, figs. 3 and 4). They read as follows:

(On the chase)

"The work of Muḥammad ibn Ḥamza."

(On the reinforce)

"Sultān Sulaimān ibn Selīm Khān, Sultān of Rūm and Persia (may his name be glorified), commanded the construction of this gun as an offering to Allāh (may he be exalted) for the vanquishment of Unbelievers, the enemies of Empire and Religion, who have entered certain harbours in India. A.H. 937 (= A.D. 1530)."

### A NEGLECTED LITERARY USAGE<sup>1</sup>

By PROFESSOR W. B. STEVENSON, D.Litt., D.D.

IN ballad poetry the words of a speaker are often suddenly introduced without any identification of the speaker by means of a verb of saying or otherwise. Examples will be found in the ballads of Thomas the Rhymer and Sir Patrick Spens (*Oxford Book of English Verse*) and in the *English and Scottish Ballads* edited by E. J. Child (Harrap, 1904). In verse 4 of the "Bonny Lass of Anglesey" we read:

Up she starts as white as the milk,  
Between him and his company:  
"What is the thing I hae to ask,  
If I could win the victory?"

The usage may appropriately be called interjected speech or undeclared direct speech. It is a common feature of Scandinavian ballad poetry and of the popular Spanish songs called *cossantes*.<sup>2</sup> It has been deliberately employed by English and German literary poets such as Byron, Walter Scott, Goethe and Heine. Fine examples of the usage will be found in Scott's "Lay of the Last Minstrel" (i. 26) and "Marmion" (vi. 27), in

<sup>1</sup> A paper on this subject was read before the Oriental Congress at Bonn in August, 1928, with illustrations chiefly from Isaiah i.-xxiii. In the paper read to the Oriental Society the illustrations were taken chiefly from European literature, Scandinavian, German and English. In the present revised form the introduction has been shortened, a new section on the Koran has been added and the treatment of the examples from Isaiah i.-xxiii has been recast but not substantially altered.

<sup>2</sup> I owe this information to one of our members, Professor W. J. Entwistle.



Goethe's "Erlkönig" and in Heine's "Wallfahrt nach Kevlaar." The words of the first reference to Scott may be quoted:

And soon he spurred his courser keen  
Beneath the tower of Hazeldean.  
The clattering hoofs the watchmen mark—  
"Stand, ho! thou courier of the dark!"

It is the special purpose of this paper to illustrate and comment upon the use of interjected speech in the Koran and in Isaiah i.-xxiii.

### *Interjected speech in the Koran*

In the Koran this idiom occurs so frequently that it assumes the character of a mannerism and loses something of its proper force. Still it is often introduced with a powerful dramatic effect and it may have been more uniformly so used in the first formulation of the Koran than it is now in the standard text. The range and effect of the Koranic use will be seen from the following survey of about sixty examples.<sup>1</sup>

(a) In a large proportion of cases interjected speech is associated in the Koran with verbs expressing (intransitively) the motion of a subject or (transitively) the motion of an object, e.g.

The angels will enter their presence from every door, "peace be upon you . . ." (13. 23 f.). The angels will meet them, "this is your day which you were promised" (21. 103).

We sent down manna and quails, "eat of the good things . . ." (2. 54, 7. 160, 20. 82 f.). The angels stretched out their hands, "bring out your souls . . ." (6. 93). On a day he will gather them together,<sup>2</sup> "O company of the jinn you have made much gain of men" (6. 128). When we shook the mountain above them . . . and they thought that it was falling upon them, "take what we give you firmly . . ." (7. 170). When the angels take away those who disbelieve . . . "taste, then, the punishment of burning. . . ." (8. 52). Send me, then, [with a message,] "Joseph, thou truth-teller, explain to us seven fat kine . . ." (12. 45 f.). We will bring out to him . . . a book . . . , "read thy book" (17. 14 f.). He brings down from the sky water by which we produce various kinds of plants, "eat and feed your cattle" (20. 55 f.). If you could see when the sinners hang down their heads before the Lord, "Lord we have seen and heard . . ." (32. 12). Watch for a day when the sky will bring visible smoke to cover men, a painful punishment, "O Lord remove from us the punishment, lo we are believers" (44. 9-11).

Some other verbs with which interjected speech is associated are those

<sup>1</sup> Other examples from Byron and Scott will be found in: "Lara", ii. 4, line 5; ii. 13, line 7; ii. 20, line 9; "Lady of the Lake", iii. 17 (end), "Lay of the Last Minstrel", iv. 10 and iv. 11.

<sup>2</sup> All of these have been collected for me by Mr. James Robson, to whose generous co-operation I am deeply indebted.

<sup>3</sup> Another possible translation preferred by E. H. Palmer is: On the day when he will gather them together. Similarly in 9. 35, 46. 19, 46. 33, 51. 13, 52. 13 f., 54. 48 f., 57. 12 (see on p. 16 f.).

of (b) giving and taking, (c) making, appointing, exalting, destroying, changing, (d) thinking, wondering, believing, (e) disputing, staring, pardoning, asking pardon. E.g.

(b) When we took (=made) a covenant with the sons of Israel, "serve only God . . ." (2. 77). We gave David superiority (in singing ?), "O mountains utter praise with him, and ye birds" (34. 10). Those who have taken patrons other than him, "we do not serve them except that they may bring us near to God . . ." (39. 4). They give food for love of him to the poor and the widow and the prisoner, "we give you food for God's sake . . ." (76. 8f.).

(c) We raised over you a mountain, "take what we have brought you . . ." (2. 60, 2. 87). We appointed the House a place of resort . . . , "take, then, Abraham's sanctuary as a place of prayer" (2. 119). Abraham raised the foundations . . . , "Lord receive (it) from us . . ." (2. 121). It is he who produced gardens . . . , "eat from its fruit . . ." (6. 142). They will treat you only as a subject of mockery, "is this he who commemorated (or, was mindful of)<sup>1</sup> your gods?" (21. 37). Then they reversed their opinions, "you know these cannot speak" (21. 66). We fixed the journey through them, "journey through them by night and day in safety" (34. 17). So we blinded their eyes, "taste, then, my punishment and my warning" (54. 37).

(d) The faithful believe in God and his Angels and his Books and his Apostles, "we do not distinguish between any of his Apostles" (2. 285). Who . . . reflect on the creation of heaven and earth, "O Lord thou hast not created this in vain" (3. 188). So that you would keep on wondering (in regret), "lo we are in debt, nay we are excluded" (56. 65f.).

(e) He began to dispute with us about Lot's people . . . , "O Abraham turn away from this . . ." (11. 77f.). The looks of those who disbelieved are staring, "woe to us who were negligent of this . . ." (21. 97). So we pardoned him . . . , "O David we have made you *khakif* . . ." (38. 24). And they ask pardon for those who believe, "O Lord . . . pardon those who have repented . . ." (40. 7).

Frequently the undeclared speaker is not named even in the context of the interjected speech, so that he remains indeterminate and strictly anonymous. This form of the idiom is common after passive verbs.

On a day they shall be heated in the fire of Gehenna and by it shall be branded their brows and faces and backs, "this is what you stored up for yourselves . . ." (9. 35). Lo the pious amid gardens and springs (will be), "enter in peace and security" (15. 45f.). They began to run from them (the cities), "do not run, return to what has been bestowed upon you . . ." (21. 12f.). They are sent back into it, "taste, then, the punishment of fire" (22. 22). Saba had in their dwelling-place a sign, two gardens . . . [of which people said] "eat of the provision of your Lord . . ." (34. 14). It will boil in their bellies . . . as heated water, "take him and

<sup>1</sup> spoken ironically.

drag him . . ." (44. 45-47). On a day those who disbelieve shall be presented to the fire, "you obtained your good things in your life . . ." (46. 19). On a day those who disbelieve shall be presented to the fire, "is not this a reality?" (46. 33). Paradise shall be brought to the pious, not far off, "this is what you were promised . . . enter it in peace . . ." (50. 30-33). On a day they will be tested by the fire, "experience your testing . . ." (51. 13). On a day they shall be thrust into the fire of hell, "this is the fire you declared to be a lie" (52. 13f.). The pious will be in gardens and bliss, enjoying what their Lord has given them . . . , "eat and drink with appetite . . ." (52. 17-19). On a day they will be dragged into the fire on their faces, "feel the touch of hell" (54. 48f.). On a day thou shalt see believers, men and women, with their light hastening before them and beside them, "good news for you to-day . . ." (57. 12). So he will be (settled) . . . in a high garden whose vintage hangs low, "eat and drink with appetite . . ." (60. 21-24). ". . . my power has gone from me." "Take him and bind him . . ." (69. 30-34).<sup>1</sup> (There will be) woe on that day to those who made accusations of falsehood, "depart into what you declared to be false . . ." (77. 28f.). Lo the pious (will be) amid shades and springs and fruits such as they desire, "eat and drink with appetite . . ." (77. 40-43).

Occasionally the identity of an indeterminate speaker may be inferred from the words which he speaks. In 38. 40f. the words are evidently God's words. But the literary effect is increased by leaving the personality of the speaker indeterminate.

Sometimes, although the identity of the speaker is not indeterminate in the special sense here given to the term, he cannot be identified with complete certainty. In 2. 57 the sentence "eat and drink of the provision of God . . ." is most likely a quotation of Moses' words, but may be spoken by the Israelites or even by an indeterminate speaker, who might be identified with God. In 83. 36 the words "are the believers recompensed for what they have done (or not)?" may be the triumphant interjected speech of the believers, who are named in the context, or possibly the words of the Koran itself.

Interjected speech is sometimes marked as speech by the prefixing of the particle *'am*. *Exx.*—We covenanted with Abraham and Ishmael, "cleanse my House . . ." (2. 119). . . . an apostle to the sons of Israel, "I have come to you with a sign . . ." (3. 43). We sent Noah to his people, "I am to you a clear warner . . ." (11. 27). We softened iron for him, "make coats of mail . . ." (34. 10). Then their chiefs departed, "away, hold to your gods" (38. 5).

Interjected speech is not the only usage that brings about an abrupt change of address in the Koran. A speaker may turn from addressing men into words of prayer to God (7. 87, 7. 123). Revelations to Mohammed

<sup>1</sup> The words of the unnamed judge or executive officer follow immediately the words of the criminal.

may suddenly pass into admonitions or promises addressed to him in the form of an imperative (75. 16-19, 89. 27-30). The 2nd sing. masc. and the 2nd plur. masc. of address frequently interchange without any precise indication of the persons who are spoken to (2. 138 f., 2. 141-143).

Some abrupt changes of address and disconnected sentences are probably due to displacements in the original order of the Koranic text. The words of prayer in the second part of 2. 286 fit admirably as a sequel to the preceding verse (2. 285) and may be supposed to have followed that verse originally. A sentence at the end of 3. 5 divides the words of "those well grounded in knowledge" from their prayer in 3. 6 f. The dividing sentence should precede the commencement of the speakers' words. The passage 19. 13-15, in its present form, does not fit into its context nor do its several parts hang together. The interjected speech of 34. 12 (with the following sentence) should perhaps be placed in 34. 11, after the words "molten brass". 38. 43 cannot be joined, even as undeclared speech, to 38. 42. It should be transposed to stand after 38. 41 (Luigi Bonelli). 78. 30 (again interjected speech) is quite out of its place. It may be transposed to stand after 78. 22.

Sometimes a speaker's utterance is broken by a brief parenthesis, which cannot well be removed elsewhere and so is open to the suspicion of being an interpolation. In 60. 4 the words *'illa qaula 'Ibrahima . . . min alas'* intervene between the speech of Abraham (and his people) and the prayer which is a continuation of that speech. In 3. 102 when the phrase "as to those whose faces become black" has been removed, a normal example of interjected speech remains: for them is terrible punishment on the day when faces shall be whitened and blackened, "did you disbelieve after believing?—then taste the punishment for your disbelief" (3. 101 f.).

### *Interjected speech in Isaiah i.-xxiii*

Undeclared speech occurs often in Hebrew poetry and is a very effective feature of the prophetic style. Its presence has been recognized by commentators, but only as if each particular instance were an isolated phenomenon and without the employment of any special term to denote the usage. Representative examples occur in association with verbs of rejoicing and mocking (Psalm 52. 8 f., Job 22. 20, Isaiah 14. 8), of reflection (Isaiah 14. 16), of seizing (Isaiah 3. 6) and arriving (Isaiah 13. 9 ff.).

The righteous shall see and rejoice,<sup>1</sup> over him they shall make merry,  
"See the man who did not make, God his refuge."

The righteous saw and rejoiced, and the spotless mocked at them,  
"Assuredly our opponents are destroyed,<sup>2</sup> and their wealth the fire has consumed."

Even the fir trees rejoice at thee, the cedars of Lebanon,  
"The cutter comes not against us, since thou didst lie down."

<sup>1</sup> For M.T. *ויראו* read *ויראו*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *ויראו* *ויראו*.

Thy visitors shall gaze at thee, shall meditate over thee,  
 "Is this the disturber of the earth, the shaker of kingdoms?"

A man will seize his neighbour, who has a garment in his home,  
 "Come, be our magistrate, and govern this ruin."

In Isaiah 13. 9-12 two introductory lines describe Jehovah's coming in wrath to destroy the land (ver. 9) and then in five lines (vv. 10-12) Jehovah, as he approaches, announces his judgment. According to the usual interpretation of the passage the words of verse 10 are the prophet's words and Jehovah's words begin at ver. 11, where the verbs are in the 1st person sing. But in order to secure connection between vv. 11-12 and their context it is necessary to take ver. 10 as part of Jehovah's speech. In this way vv. 10-12 are a normal example of undeclared direct speech.

The connection between verses 2 and 3 of Isaiah xvi has been a cause of perplexity to commentators. Vv. 3-4a, however, follow ver. 2 quite simply as the undeclared speech of the Moabite fugitives:

From Sela in the desert, to the mountain <sup>^</sup> of Zion,  
<sup>^</sup> Like fluttering birds, a nest that has been scattered,  
<sup>^</sup> The daughters of Moab, at the fords of the Arnon,  
 "Bring counsel, make intercession,  
 "Cast <sup>^</sup> thy shadow, when it is noon," etc., etc.

The words of Isaiah 18. 3 are easily understood as a message entrusted by the prophet to the (Judean) envoys of ver. 2. They follow, in the usual manner of interjected speech the preceding imperative "go swift messengers." Although directed to the Ethiopians, they have a significance for the world generally. They are disquieting, cryptic words:

"All you inhabitants of the world, and dwellers on earth,  
 When the banner is raised, you will see,  
 When the trumpet is sounded, you will hear."

That, probably, is all. The following lines, addressed by Jehovah to the prophet, supply an elucidation of the message, but were not necessarily intended to be included in it.

There should be no hesitation in adding to the examples already given a series of passages where in M.T. the idiom of the original writer has been eliminated by interpolation of parts of the Hebrew verb *'amar*. Some of these interpolations have been recognized as such, inevitably, by the commentators. In Isaiah 2. 3 <sup>וְאָמַר</sup> is rightly treated by Duhm and Marti as an addition to the original text and in Isaiah 10. 8 <sup>וְאָמַר</sup> are deleted by Duhm, Marti, Box and ICC. A glance at Kittel's text will show that the metre demands these omissions. Similarly in Isaiah 3. 15 the last four superfluous words should be deleted on metrical grounds and in accordance with LXX<sup>acc</sup>. (so Marti, but not Duhm, Box or ICC).

Other interpolations of the same kind are not so easily recognizable until the frequency and the manner of use of interjected speech in the prophetic style have been fully appreciated. With this qualification Isaiah

4. 1<sup>1</sup>, 12. 4<sup>2</sup>, and 21. 9<sup>3</sup> may be confidently included in the list of passages where interpolation spoils the literary quality, although it does not alter the meaning, of the sentences.

It is to be noted, on the other hand, that Isaiah 19. 2-5 is not an example of undeclared direct speech, because the passage ends with the words "saith Jehovah of hosts", which reveal the speaker. 19. 2, however, begins in the manner of interjected speech.

A right understanding of the use of interjected speech and a recognition of the frequency of its occurrence open up new prospects for the interpretation and correction of difficult passages in the Hebrew prophets. Isaiah ch. xxii supplies a simple illustration. Here the gap between vv. 15-18 (spoken by the prophet) and v. 19 ff. (spoken by Jehovah) has been supposed to point necessarily to the conclusion that 19 ff. are an addition to the original text (Duhm, Marti, Box). On the contrary, while 15-18a are the words of the prophet it is legitimate to regard 18b-23 as being (1) the doom or judgment pronounced by Jehovah upon Shebna, as he hurls him away, (2) further, a declaration by Jehovah regarding Shebna's successor. Undeclared speech is commonly employed to express the intention of a person who is engaged in performing a specified act. Vv. 18b-23 may, therefore, be taken as the words that Jehovah will speak when he hurls Shebna away.

When two corrections have been made in Isaiah 23. 12,<sup>4</sup> a normal rhythmic line follows verse 11 and may be taken as the beginning of the undeclared speech of Jehovah. Here, as in other cases, it is possible that the words of address, "Thou shalt no longer rejoice, humiliated virgin", are the prophet's own words. But the interpolation "and he said" is evidence of the view of an early interpreter, who understood the line to contain words spoken by Jehovah.

Isaiah ch. xxi. is full of difficulties. If it contains the vision of a prophet regarding the downfall of Babylon, it is in a very confused state. According to Duhm and Marti, v. 8 ff. record the beginning of the vision and vv. 1-5 relate its middle part. The speaker of vv. 2-4, who uses the 1st pers. sing., is supposed to be the prophet himself. The resulting incongruity that he represents himself as greatly distressed by the vision has been too lightly passed over by commentators. It suggests that the speaker is not the prophet. Altogether the usual view of the chapter is very unconvincing.

A better solution of its difficulties is got when we assume that the speaker of vv. 2-4 is the messenger, who, according to v. 1, comes with news from the desert. Vv. 2-4 then contain an announcement by this messenger of a siege in which Elam and Media are taking part.<sup>5</sup> The following section, vv. 5-7, may now describe the reception of the news in Jerusalem. It includes the giving of instructions for the posting of a

<sup>1</sup> Om. ביום ההוא לאמר

<sup>2</sup> Omit the first three words.

<sup>3</sup> Om. ויחזק

<sup>4</sup> Om. ויחזק and נבדל, the latter as an erroneous gloss. The humiliated virgin is Canaan, not Zion.

<sup>5</sup> The last short line of ver. 2 may be removed to ver. 10. See note 3, p. 21.

watchman, who is to look out for the arrival of further news.<sup>1</sup> In vv. 8-9 we get the watchman's report.<sup>2</sup> He announces the coming of travellers from the north, who bring word that Babylon has been captured and overthrown:

Now it comes, a train of people, a pair of horsemen,  
 "Babylon has fallen, has fallen, all its images are broken to the ground."

A line or two more may have expressed the Jewish people's hope of freedom.<sup>3</sup> Even without these, the poem mirrors the deep impression which Cyrus' conquest of Babylon made upon them in a distant land.

Isaiah 10. 27b-32 contains a vivid description of the last stage of the Assyrian advance on Jerusalem. Its swift brief lines include, it may be, two interjected utterances, one spoken by the invaders as they hurry along (v. 29), the other by the alarmed population as it flees before them (v. 32).

V. 29—They advance to the crossing (shouting), "Geba is our lodging-place."

V. 32—"It is still day, they will post themselves in Nobh,  
 They will shake their hand, against the daughter of Zion."

In v. 32 the words may be those of the prophet himself, but they are far more fitting as the words of the frightened people and also far finer, so, as the conclusion and climax of the passage.<sup>4</sup>

In Bonn my attention was directed to Fr. Ed. König's reference to some examples of interjected speech in his *Syntax*, § 374b, and in his *Stilistik*, p. 216 f. He includes, however, under the same heading in both books, direct speech *preceded by a verb of saying* (as in Genesis 20. 5) and means by his expression "uneingeführte direkte Rede", not undeclared speech as defined above but, direct speech without any introductory particle, such as הִנֵּה or כִּי *recitativum*. I am still without knowledge of any published treatment of interjected speech or of any recognition by scholars of its significance in Semitic or in Indo-European literature.<sup>5</sup>

7th October, 1930

The meeting was attended by 20 members. The regulations for the Thomas Hunter Weir Memorial Prize as approved by

<sup>1</sup> The opening words of ver. 6 are a clear interpolation.

<sup>2</sup> In ver. 8 the deletion of וַיִּשְׁמַע אֶת הַקוֹל and of וַיִּשְׁמַע leave a line of the same rhythmic form as that of the next two lines. It has already been noted that the words "he answered and said" in ver. 9 are an interpolation.

<sup>3</sup> The last two lines of ver. 10 are no part of the poem. The first three words may be combined with the last three words of ver. 2 to give the line: "My beaten one, my comrade on the threshing-floor, all her moaning is done away."

<sup>4</sup> לֵאמֹר is a "periphrastic future". In the above translation of the last line some rhythmically superfluous words of M.T. have been omitted. One of them may be moved to the end of ver. 31, where a word is required.

<sup>5</sup> Since these preceding lines were written I have observed a brief but significant reference to the usage in D. B. Macdonald's *Hebrew Literary Genius* (Princeton, 1933), p. 22.

the University Court were read.<sup>1</sup> It was decided to celebrate the Jubilee of the Society in December.<sup>2</sup> The paper by Mr. Harris summarised below was read, and some recent books were displayed and commented upon. Professor Stevenson circulated typed notes on the History and Sources of the Jewish Masorah, of which extracts are given below, as a substitute for a paper.

## SOME PSYCHOLOGICAL TERMS OF THE BOOK OF PROVERBS

BY THE REV. E. J. HARRIS, B.D.

In this paper the meanings of the terms discussed were established and illustrated by numerous fresh translations from the Hebrew. *Nephesh*, *rūaḥ* and *leb* received full treatment, and the uses of *beten* (18. 8, 20. 27), *kelayōth* (23. 15, 16), *bāḥār* (4. 22), *she'er* (11. 17), '*egem* (16. 24), '*ayin* (6. 17, 22. 9, 23. 6, 28. 22, 30. 17), '*ōzen* (15. 31, 18. 15, 20. 12, 25. 12), *pe* and *sephdihayim* (10. 11, 31) were also examined.

## HISTORY AND SOURCES OF THE JEWISH MASORAH

BY PROFESSOR W. B. STEVENSON, D.LITT., D.D.

THE printed "textus receptus" reproduces approximately a Bible printed in 1525 and edited by Jacob ben Chaiyim from MSS. that seem not to have been older than the thirteenth century A.D. These MSS. contained a text and Masorah which were a development of the text and Masorah of Aaron ben Asher (early eighth century). Most of the greater MSS. of the O.T. conform more or less closely to the authority of Ben Asher and the school of Tiberias to which he belonged. There are, however, MSS. whose text and Masorah follow the authority of another Palestinian scholar, Moses ben Naphtali, who was perhaps a contemporary of Ben Asher.

Still greater divergences from the text and Masorah of Ben Asher are found in the MSS. that were written in the Jewish schools of Babylonia in the seventh to tenth centuries. Fragments of more than 100 MSS. of this kind have been discovered and partially published quite recently by Paul Kahle of Bonn. They include most of the oldest known MSS. of the O.T. in existence. The consonantal text of these MSS. differs little from the consonantal text of Ben Asher, but the vowels are represented by quite different signs and the tradition of the Hebrew language preserved by them is notably different from the Palestinian tradition.

The history of Hebrew vowel signs has been much illumined by Paul Kahle's discoveries. The signs used by Aaron ben Asher, which are also

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix I, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> See p. viii.



those of ordinary printed books (Bibles and grammars), were developed in the school of Tiberias in the ninth century A.D., or a little earlier. They may be called the Tiberias vowel signs. They were preceded in Palestine by a much less perfect system which survives in fragmentary MSS., now mostly preserved in the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, having been brought there from the ancient synagogues of Cairo. These MSS. are to be dated in the eighth and seventh centuries A.D., and the vowel signs they employ may be called Palestinian vowel signs. In the same centuries a distinctive way of writing vowels was in use in the Jewish schools of Babylonia (see above). In Syriac writing, vowels were represented in a manner very like that of the Hebrew Palestinian system as early as the fifth century A.D. It is, therefore, not unlikely that Jewish scholars, in Palestine or Babylonia, followed the model of Syriac writing when they first introduced special vowel signs into Hebrew MSS. If so, the writing of vowels in Hebrew words by means of special signs or letters probably first began in the sixth century A.D. Previously vowels were imperfectly and ambiguously represented by means of four signs which also represented consonants (*aleph*, *yodh*, *waw*, *he*).

### 30th March, 1931

There were 20 members present at this meeting. Reference was made with sorrow to the death of three members, one of whom, the Rev. F. A. Steuart, B.D., had been Recording Secretary since 1925.<sup>1</sup> The two papers summarised below were read, and also the following brief communications: The letters *Yōdh*, *Tāw*, *Qōph*, *Qōph*, at the end of Isaiah, Malachi, Ecclesiastes and Lamentations; and Points of Orthography in the new edition of Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*, by Professor A. R. S. Kennedy, D.D., LL.D.; *Zechariah* 8. 16–19, by Professor W. B. Stevenson, D.Litt., D.D.; and *The Sound of Millstones* (Jeremiah 25. 10), by Mr. Nathan Morris, M.A.<sup>2</sup>

### SURVEY OF ORIENTAL STUDIES (IV): P.E.F. QUARTERLY STATEMENTS, 1925–30

BY THE REV. T. CROUTHER GORDON, D.F.C., B.D., Ph.D.

IN this survey the Q.S. record of Palestinian excavation for six years was traced. The discovery of the remains of Palaeolithic man in Palestine, the finds made during the excavations on Ophel (including coins, whose

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> For the brief communications see p. 67 f.

decipherment by T. C. G. was published in 1925) and in the Tyropoean valley, new evidence regarding the "third wall" of Jerusalem, the excavations at Gerasa, the Roman capital of Gilead, revealing important remains of early Christian churches and a Jewish synagogue, Professor Garstang's articles on Jericho (April 1927 and July 1930), and the accounts by Mr. Alan Rowe of his fruitful work at Baisān (April 1927, April 1928, April 1929) received special mention and comment. Particular attention was drawn to the discovery of Canaanite temples at Baisān (described fully in Q.S., January 1931). Special note was also made of two articles by W. J. Phythian-Adams, in which he identifies Sinai-Horeb with the volcanic mountain of Tadra, to the east of the upper part of the Red Sea, in the ancient land of Midian (July and October 1930) and of two articles by R. N. Salaman, in which he argues that the Philistines were absorbed ultimately by the Hebrews and that their facial type survives among modern Jews (January and April 1925). Two other Jewish facial types, Hittite and Semitic, are distinguished by R. N. S. In Q.S., January 1929, there is a valuable article by A. H. Gardiner on the origin of the alphabet.

E. J. W. GIBB

BY MISS ELIZABETH H. ALEXANDER, LL.D.

THE purpose of this paper was to emphasise the unique excellence and epoch-making importance of E. J. W. Gibb's great work on Ottoman poetry. The author's observations on the forms of Turkish poetry and its very close relationship to Persian literature were summarised. Most of the paper was devoted to a synopsis of Gibb's treatment of the greatest poets, with extracts in every case from his beautiful translations of their poems. Some notes on Gibb's life, based on personal knowledge, were supplied. In what follows the biographical element has been expanded, two specimen translations have been retained, and a few testimonies to Gibb's extensive learning and brilliant scholarship have been given.

Elias John Wilkinson Gibb was born at 25 Newton Place, Glasgow, on the 3rd June, 1857, and closed his brief life full of literary achievement in London on the 5th of December, 1901. His father, Elias Gibb († 1905), was a wine merchant of the city of Glasgow and a typical gentleman of the old school, sport-loving, hospitable, and genial in manner. His mother, Jane Gilmour, was a daughter of Robert Gilmour, whose family belonged to Glasgow district and had business connections with the Argentine. She had a beautiful presence and character, and marked originality of mind, and to her son she gave the fullest sympathy and encouragement in his work, and in 1900 provided him with the means of publishing his great *History of Ottoman Poetry*. To her generous and enthusiastic nature was also owing the noble foundation at Cambridge of the Gibb Memorial Trust. Her only other child, Graeme Gibb, who married Mr. Thomas Watson,

was equally devoted to her brilliant brother, and possessed the same selfless character as her mother. A brother of Mrs. Gibb, William Rodger Gilmour, was a man of wealth from whom his nephew inherited a considerable legacy. It was fortunate that E. J. W. Gibb was born in happy domestic conditions which continued all his days, and enabled him to pursue a life of scholarly employment, free from all thought of monetary cares.

His parents were both descended from well connected West of Scotland families. His paternal grandfather, Elias Gibb, belonged to Ayr, but settled later in Glasgow and married Alice Boyd, daughter of Spencer Boyd, the twelfth Laird of Penkill in Ayrshire. Professor Gavin Gibb of the chair of Oriental Languages in Glasgow University (1814-31) was a cousin of this Elias Gibb. Through the Boyds of Penkill and Trochrig, E. J. W. Gibb was descended from a family whose members at various times distinguished themselves in oriental and classic tongues, and which gave a seventeenth century Principal to Glasgow University (Robert Boyd, 1615-22). Zackary Boyd (1590-1654), a generous benefactor to the University, and Mark Boyd, a "notable poet in Latin verse", whose now rare book was printed at Antwerp in 1592, were members of the same family. Spencer Boyd's wife was Sarah Wilkinson of Carlisle, from whom E. J. W. Gibb derived one of his names.

There is little to be said of Gibb's formal education. As a boy he attended the Park School in Glasgow, and in his leisure time read *The Arabian Nights*, which drew his early thoughts to the East, and his first Turkish words were learnt from a schoolfellow, whose father had long resided in Turkey. He also owned a Turkish fez which he frequently wore, and was appropriately nicknamed Mahomet, and before leaving school he acquired a Turkish uniform in which his photograph was taken. He was a highly imaginative and poetic youth, unlike most of his schoolfellows in interest and temperament. By this time he had written many poems which showed his gift of literary composition, and his enthusiasm for the East. Some of these are included in the slim volume of his poems printed privately by his widow and mother after his death.

In his seventeenth and eighteenth years he attended the classes of Mathematics, Logic and Arabic at Glasgow University (1873-5). Logic was then, as now, combined in the curriculum with Rhetoric, and both subjects were lectured on by Professor John Veitch, whose literary and poetic tastes might well attract and influence Gibb. His first instructor in Arabic was Professor Duncan Weir. Turkish and Persian were, however, his favourite studies and were pursued privately with unflagging zeal and amazing success. He was also already proficient in French, German and Italian.

Gibb was fortunate in his early association with two older scholars Professor James Robertson, whose settlement in Glasgow in 1877 gave a fresh impulse to Oriental studies there, and Mr. W. A. Clouston, whose

numerous publications were a strong influence in wider circles. Clouston edited *Arabian Poetry for English Readers* (1881) and included in an appendix Gibb's translation of Mevlâ's *Ode on Spring* (completed before 1879) and read the proofs of Gibb's *Ottoman Poems* (1882).

A slight volume of 36 pages, privately printed in Glasgow in 1879, being a translation of Sa'd ud-din's *Capture of Constantinople*, was Gibb's first independent publication. It attracted the attention of Sir James W. Redhouse, the foremost Turkish scholar of his day in England, and opened up to Gibb a way of acquaintance and friendship with the wider world of Oriental learning.

Lochwood, near Gartcosh in Lanarkshire, was now the family home (1880-6). It is described by an enthusiastic Indian visitor, Hamid Ali Khan, as a "lovely spacious house, standing in the centre of a beautiful park which stretched out far and wide." In a letter written to this friend in May 1883 (published in Lucknow in 1912) Gibb says, with reference to his recently published *Ottoman Poems* (1882), "In translating I did not attempt to make the poems agreeable to English poetic taste, but rather to put them into English exactly as they stood in Turkish. In short I endeavoured to write Eastern poetry in English words." It may be noticed that in this same letter reference is made to Gibb's acquaintance with Indians resident in Glasgow.

In the summer of 1883 E. J. W. Gibb spent several weeks in London in close companionship with E. G. Browne, then just returned from his first visit to Constantinople. They met at Gibb's suggestion to pursue together their Turkish, Arabic and Persian studies assisted by Mirza Baqir of Bawanat, and so began a lifelong friendship.

Gibb now entered fully on his brilliant career as translator of Turkish poetry and writer of important books on Turkish literature and history: *The Story of Jewdî* (1884), *The History of the Forty Vezirs by Sheykh-zâda* (1886) and *Turkish Literature* (Encyc. Britt.). When he contributed articles in Turkish to a Constantinople journal on a linguistic discussion, it was hardly believed that a European could have gained the complete mastery he showed of a language full of difficulties for the foreigner.

Yet his translation of the twelfth-century French romance of Aucassin et Nicolette (privately published 1887) showed his continued interest in other fields of literature. In a letter he says of this romance, "I like it because I find in it an epitome of the Spirit of the Middle Ages which was the childhood of our Gothic race. We have in it the naïveté and sincerity and that clash of unconscious barbarity, which are characteristic of childhood, alike in individuals and in peoples . . . originally the bits in verse were sung or chanted to the accompaniment of some rebeck or viol." Later the Italian art of the Renaissance so attracted him that, if he had lived, he might have made it a subject of special study and have written upon it.

It was at the house of Mr. Rodgers in London, who was a friend of Gibb's uncle, W. R. Gilmour, that he met the beautiful niece of the former, Ida





E. J. W. GIBB WEARING HIS FEZ



**E. J. W. GIBB IN TURKISH UNIFORM**





Wilmot Eyre Rodriguez, of Spanish and Huguenot descent, whom he married in July 1889.

They established their charming home in 15 Chepstow Villas, Bayswater, and their house became the resort of Turkish men of letters who visited this country, and a centre of the kindest hospitality to many friends. These included Sir James Redhouse, Abdul Hamid Bey of the Ottoman Embassy, a great poet of the modern school, Dr., now Sir Denison Ross, Halil Halid Effendi and many others. Gibb was now in touch with every noted Orientalist of his time, including Sir Richard Burton, Vambéry, Barbier de Meynard, and John Payne, Orientalist and poet.

In his study he possessed rare illuminated Oriental MSS., also miniatures and rare objects of art from China and Japan both in bronze and porcelain, of which he made a special study.

E. J. W. Gibb's parents now resided at 15 Montgomerie Crescent, Glasgow, where they received long visits, twice a year or oftener, from their son and his wife. During one of these visits in April 1895, the writer of this memoir first made his acquaintance. He saw a small piece of sculpture by her, which he liked, and so discovered one who shared his interest in art and eastern languages.

When I told him of my desire to learn Sanskrit, he most generously offered to teach me Persian and so turned my studies finally in that direction. He proved to be a born teacher, encouraging and inspiring. To have been his pupil is a privilege ever to be remembered with gratitude and pleasure. Visits to the British Museum under his guidance were an experience never to be forgotten.

It is a satisfaction also to recall that the manuscript notebook which he wrote out so kindly for his eager student preserved the entire plan of his *History of Ottoman Poetry* and was used by Professor Browne as a guide to the arrangement of the MSS. of that work, which was left unfinished at his death (see the *History of Ottoman Poetry*, Vol. 4, Preface, p. 4).

While in Glasgow, Gibb's tall slim figure with erect carriage was often to be seen on the Great Western Road striding along with lengthy steps, conning to himself the verses he was in the midst of translating from the Ottoman poets. General society had little attraction for his studious mind, but it pleased him to read to an attentive ear the MSS. of his *History* and translations. His voice had a rare musical quality and was most expressive when he read and recited English or Persian poetry. Amongst his favourites in English were Whinfield's *Song of the Flute* from the *Mesnevi*, and E. G. Browne's *Jusef and Zuleikha* from *Jami*, and the volume of original verse entitled *Songs of Love and Death* by his friend John Payne. Of his own translations those that specially appealed to him were the simple medieval *Mesnevi* of Sultan Veled, the fervid outpourings of the Sufi, Yûnus Imre, and the passionate lines of the Sufi saint and martyr, Nesâmî. Other favourites were Nâbî's beautiful *Mukhammes*, with the haunting refrain "Oh that I knew what I am, what is mine, in this workshop here", and

the verses of Ziyâ Paasha, the greatest of modern Turkish poets, whose Arabic refrain:

“Glory to Him before whose work all intellect is dazed!  
Glory to Him before whose might the wisest stand amazed!”

became a household word in Turkey. Gibb's inspired enthusiasm as he read from these poets swept the listener into another sphere of being.

In 1901, the year of the Glasgow International Exhibition, he paid a long visit to the city of his birth. On his return to London a severe attack of scarlet fever developed rapidly, and ended fatally in a few days.

Of the many tributes paid to his unique scholarship and to the insight and sympathy of his interpretations of Ottoman poetry only a few can be cited. In his *Literary History of Persia*, Professor Browne says that the Prolegomena to Gibb's *History of Ottoman Poetry* (especially chh. II and III) “form one of the best introductions to the study of Muhammadan literature . . . and should be read by every student of this subject;” while in his preface to the second volume of Gibb's *History of Ottoman Poetry*, commenting on the unfinished part dealing with the modern poets, he writes “There is no Orientalist living whose knowledge is sufficient to finish what he meant to do.” His intimate knowledge and translations of the old Turkish idioms and verse forms is described by a German writer as “something unique and possible only to one who had thrown himself with whole-hearted enthusiasm into the study of a literature difficult of access and full of intricacies that would have daunted anyone less filled with enthusiasm than he.”

The illuminating quality of his translations caused Graf von Mülinen, the Orientalist, to say in a letter to Mrs. Gibb, “It positively seemed as if a magic wand lay in the hand of the author, making the wild rose hedges of Turkish poetry blossom into a glorious rose garden.”

And at his death a literary Turk feelingly said, “In E. J. W. Gibb Turkey has lost its first and truest exponent and best friend.”

“When we are dead, seek for our resting place  
Not in the earth, but in the hearts of men.”

(JALÁLU 'L-DÍN RÚMÍ).

## SPECIMEN TRANSLATIONS

### MUKHAMMES

By NÁBÍ (1712)

Nor smiling floret nor dew drop is mine in this gay parterre;  
Nor traffic, nor merchandise, nor coin in this busy fair;  
Nor might, nor power to possess, nor more nor less, for e'er;  
Nor strength nor life apart, nor wound nor balm to my share;  
O that I knew what I am, what is mine, in this workshop here!



E. J. W. GIBB IN MISS ELLA ALEXANDER'S STUDIO (1900)



And naught to do in this workshop for myself alone have I;  
 No separate life is mine, all is His, afar and anigh.  
 No choice was mine as to come to the world or from hence to hie;  
 No reason to cry 'I am!' 'I am!' in my hands doth lie.

O that I knew what I am, what is mine, in this workshop here!

*Ottoman Poetry III, 340.*

### TERJÎ'-BEND

By ZİYÂ PASHA (†1880)

How passing strange a school this workshop of creation shows!  
 Its every fabric doth some script of the unknown expose.  
 The whirling heaven is a mill whose yield is agony;  
 Bewildered man is e'en the grain it grinds the while it goes.  
 Like to a demon fierce and fell its offspring it devours:  
 How strange a nest doth this old hostelry of earth disclose!  
 If one should heedful scan the shows of all existent things,  
 Behold a dream, a phantasy, a tale of joys and woes.  
 All things so-ever in the world are borne towards an end;  
 Spring into autumn glides, and summer's heat to winter's snows.  
 Belike 'tis man will never win Eternal Truth unto;  
 All faiths and creeds appear to reason vague and futile shows.  
 O wherefore, Lord, is all this bitter stress and strife of pain,  
 The while a crust of bread is all the need man really knows?

Glory to Him before whose work all intellect is dazed!

Glory to Him before whose might the wisest stand amazed!

*Ottoman Poetry V, 87.*

### GIBB MSS. IN GLASGOW UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

MEMBERS of the Society have recently heard with much pleasure and satisfaction that an unpublished MS. translation of Sa'd ud-dîn's *History of the Ottoman Sultans* by Mr. Gibb (unfinished) and the MS. of his early work on Ottoman poetry (1882) have been generously presented to the University Library by his niece and nephew, Mrs. Howard Robertson and Mr. Lawrence Watson.

6th October, 1931

At this meeting 19 members were present. The three papers summarised below were read, and also a brief communication by Professor W. B. Stevenson, D.Litt., D.D., on Isaiah 30, vv. 1-8.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See p. 68.

## ANCIENT EGYPTIAN INSTRUMENTS OF MUSIC

BY H. G. FARMER, Esq., Ph.D.


Of all the nations of antiquity, Egypt offers the most complete field for the investigation of the instruments of music of the past. Fortunately, the hieroglyphic signs determine for us the form and character of most of the instruments that we know by name.


 SaKHM (Sistrum).


 SaiSHSH-T (Sistrum).

 MaiNÂT (Clapper).

 TaBN (Drum).


 ASaH (Drum).

 TaB (Tambourine).

 SaR (Tambourine).

 MAÎT (Reed-pipe).

 AS (Double Reed-pipe).

 SAiBÎT (Flute).

 SA (Panpipes).

 NeFeR (Pandore).



BaiN-T (Harp).

TCHATCHA (Harp).

Long before the appearance of rhythmic musical instruments there was the practice of hand-clapping as a regulator of the song and dance. This, in ancient Egypt, was known by the term *maḥ*, a word that can be identified with the Hebrew *māchā*. It was not long before pulsatile instruments were introduced to take the place of hand-clapping. During the fifth dynasty (2750–2625 B.C.) we find rhythmic wands being used. These were held in each hand and beaten together. More effective were imitation arms and hands, modelled in ivory or wood, which were used for this purpose. We have many specimens of these dating from the Middle Empire (2440–1580 B.C.) in our museums.

Another type of pulsatile instrument was the clapper. We find it in actual specimens from the Roman period, but there was a much older type similar to "the bones" of the modern negro minstrel troupes. We find it delineated on pottery dating from the pre-dynastic period, i.e. before the middle of the fourth millennium B.C., and in these we have the oldest representations of Egyptian musical instruments.

Under the New Empire (1580–1080 B.C.) we see these clappers to better advantage. The Egyptian language offers two names for these clappers and rhythmic wands, viz. *ah* and *nathakhi*, but, unfortunately, we do not know which is which. The latter word may be of Semitic origin and its cognate may be sought in the Hebrew *naṣach*.

Then there was another instrument of the clapper type. This was the *maināt*, which made its appearance during the Middle Empire. This was probably the immediate parent of the finger castanets. The arm was placed through the loop that we see in the wall paintings, whilst the fingers grasped the wooden or ivory tongues.

As for the cymbals, I do not think that they appear in any of the monuments, although a pair, dating from the first century A.D., may be seen in the British Museum. Yet there was a truly indigenous instrument of this class, the sistrum. It is figured in the hieroglyphs in two forms, and from these we are able to give each its appropriate name. One type had a body made of metal, with three or more jingling bars inserted in the framework. This type was called the *saishat-t*. The Greeks borrowed both the word and the instrument as the *seistron*, which, in turn, became the Latin *sistrum*.

The other type was constructed with a framework of wood or pottery. It was probably the older type and we can trace it to the sixth dynasty

at least. It was called the *sakhm*. In this instrument the metal bars were fixed and did not jingle.

Of tambourines we have two types shown in the art remains. The round type was called the *sar*, as we know from the hieroglyphs, and the word reminds us of the Arabic *ṣār*. The term *gemgem* was also used for a tambourine, and *kemtem* is still used by the Copts as the name for this instrument. Some of the tambourines were very large, and a relief of the twenty-second dynasty shows one over three feet in diameter. The rectangular tambourine was probably called the *tab*, a word which smells suspiciously like the Hebrew *toph*, the Sumerian *dub*, and the Arabic *duff*.

Drums come next. Once more, two is the number of types, a single-headed drum and a double-headed drum. The former may be seen in a well-known picture, but we do not know its name. To-day the Arabs call it the *nagğara*. It is not common in the art remains. The double-headed drum appears to have had two names according to the hieroglyphs. A long-bodied type was called the *ṣabn* or *tabn*, and we have an actual specimen from the twelfth dynasty in the Cairo Museum. Under the New Empire we find it in a military scene. The drum with a shorter body is preserved at the Louvre. The hieroglyphs tell us that its name was *asaḥ*. Both of these drums may be seen in the Soudan and Congo to-day.

Wind instruments played an important part in both religious and social life in ancient Egypt. We can divide these into flutes, reed-pipes, pan-pipes and trumpets. The Egyptian name for the flute was *saib* or *saibit*, a word which survives in the Coptic *seibē*, and is phonetically akin perhaps to the Assyrian *shebitu* and the Arabic *shabbāba*. Another type was the *uachna*, from which word the Greeks may have derived their *phoinix*. Then there was the *wara*, a word strongly redolent of the Arabic *yārā'* which was also a wood-wind instrument.

The most ancient representation of a flute in Egypt may be found on the pre-dynastic pottery already referred to. In the fourth dynasty we have a characteristic picture of a flute player, who holds his instrument precisely as does the modern Arab performer on the flute (*nāy*). All the succeeding pictures show this posture.

The reed-pipe is given the name *maii*. Under the fourth dynasty we see both a long and a short type. It was possibly played with a double reed in the same way as our modern oboe. The double reed-pipe was played, it would seem, as to-day in the Arab *zammāra*, with a single reed. Perhaps its name was *ās* or *ās-t*, if the hieroglyphs do really display this instrument. There were two kinds, the joined and the separated. Actual specimens may be seen in museums.

Pan-pipes appear to have been called *sa* or *sa-it*. We have a statuette in the British Museum showing a performer. Finally, we have the trumpet. We do not find it as a hieroglyph, although the horn is represented as *āb*. It does not occur in the art remains until the New Empire, when it is known as the *shanh*. This is probably the *chnouē* of the Greeks, which they identified



with the worship of Osiris. It was a military instrument. Another name for the trumpet was *thupar*, a word which immediately suggests the Hebrew *shōphār*.

The most important family of all, the stringed instruments, comes next. Although, as we shall see, the cithara, the pandore, and the upper-chested harp were of foreign origin, yet it is possible that the lower-chested harp was born in Egypt, unless the 4th millennium Babylonian instrument can be given precedence. The Egyptian lower-chested harp of the fourth dynasty is a long-bodied instrument, with a very small sound-chest, the latter being covered by skin or parchment. The strings, as we know from specimens found in the tombs, were made of gut. Actual instruments may be seen in our museums.

During the Old and Middle Empires, a more curved type came into use. In this form the instrument became portable and could be played in the lap of a person sitting. By the time of the New Empire the sound-chest had become considerably enlarged. We also find a portable type which was played on the shoulders. We have museum specimens of these shoulder harps. So popular did the portable instrument become that we find a stand being introduced for it so as to enable a performer to play on it in comfort when standing or sitting. By the twentieth dynasty this harp had reached the pinnacle of construction as we know from the beautiful designs which may be seen in the so-called Bruce's harps. The name of the lower-chested harp in Egyptian was *bain* or *bain-t*, and the name still flourishes as the Coptic *boini*. Perhaps the much-debated *phoinix* of the Greeks is both this word and instrument.

The harp which had the upper sound-chest was probably imported from the Semitic East. There is a fine example in a relief of the twenty-sixth dynasty at Cairo, and an actual specimen is preserved at Paris. We cannot be sure of its name, but perhaps it was the *ichatcha*, which is almost identical with the Arabic *jank* and the Persian *chang*.

Next we have the cithara. This was also an importation from Semitic lands, and we have an early glimpse of it in a well-known picture from Beni Hasan, which shows it in the hands of a Semite. Several actual specimens have been preserved and, under the New Empire, its name was *kananaur*, a name which persists in the Coptic *kinera*, and is identical with the Hebrew *kinnōr*.

Lastly we have the pandore. This appears for the first time in the eighteenth dynasty, and in specimens, wall paintings and reliefs it is shown without tuning-pegs for the strings. The neck and sound-chest were made of wood, the latter being covered with skin or parchment. For centuries the name of this instrument has been accepted as *nefer*. The hieroglyphics show an instrument of the pandore shape with this name, but with tuning-pegs jutting out from the scroll. Because the specimens, paintings and reliefs do not show any tuning-pegs on the instrument itself, it has been surmised by some Egyptologists that *nefer* does not stand for the pandore. Yet the fact

remains that we find the hieroglyphs both *with* and *without* the tuning-pegs. For many a long year Hebrew students have been inclined to recognise the *nebel* in the *nefer*, the *b* and *f* and the *l* and *r* being interchangeable in this as in many similar words. (See *Transactions*, V. 26.)

## CONDITIONS AND OUTLOOK IN PALESTINE

BY THE REV. W. M. CHRISTIE, D.D.

THIS paper first described the present political boundaries of Palestine and explained the artificial character of its northern limits as due to the necessity of satisfying French demands when the post-war boundary was settled.

Dr. Christie then enumerated the racial elements in the country, noting that the so-called Arabs are really the descendants of the ancient Canaanite-Hebrew population, although with an admixture of many later elements. An incidental proof that the "Arab" peasantry are the descendants of the pre-Islamic population is found in the fact that in Galilee they confuse the gutturals in speaking Arabic as they did when they spoke Aramaic in New Testament times (Matt. 26. 73; B. Erubin 53 ab). There has been, however, a considerable Christian immigration into Galilee from Lebanon and Transjordan. The Christians of Safed came from Hasbeya, those in Nazareth from the Hauran and from Merj Ayun, while in Kefr Birim and its neighbourhood Maronite communities are found, clearly immigrants from the north. In Upper Galilee, mainly in the French mandated territory, there is a large Metawileh population. These last are Shi'ite Moslems and their presence is explained by a tradition (discovered by Dr. Christie) that Saladin settled soldiers of his from Persia, in return for their services, in Upper Galilee and in the Sidon district. Their appearance is more Indo-European than Semitic.

Of true Arab families there are the descendants of the Yemenites and Kaisites, who are recorded to have settled in Nazareth and Cana of Galilee. The Effendi class in Palestine boast their descent from the followers of Omar and his successors. They reside in the larger towns—Jerusalem, Nablus, Jaffa, Haifa and Akka—and are characterized by an extreme fanaticism, especially in Hebron and Nablus. Another fanatical Moslem element is found, especially in Jerusalem and Safed—the Moghrabiyeh Arabs, or settlers from Morocco. Immigrants themselves, they have become the most bitter opponents of Jewish immigration. Their quarter in Jerusalem is beside the Wailing Wall, and the old Dung Gate there is now known by their name. This people was responsible for the attack on the Conder-Kitchener party in Safed in 1877, when Kitchener was left for dead in a brushwood of brambles and thistles. They, too, were

responsible for the massacre and ruin of the Jewish quarter of Safed during the past month of August (1929).

The Samaritans, who number about 192, live in Nablus. They are almost negligible, but the passing away of the old hostility between Samaritan and Jew is a matter of interest. In July 1927 the Samaritan Quarter in Nablus was destroyed by an earthquake. The first to give help were the Jews of Tell Aviv and Jaffa, who sent wagon loads of food and a doctor to attend the wounded. The attitude of the Moslem neighbours is revealed by the fact that they actually stoned these Jews.

The Jewish population of Palestine was reduced to a very small number by the influence of the Crusades. Later it was much increased by the expulsion of the Jews from Spain (1492) and by the advent of the Ottoman Turks (1517). Tiberias and Jerusalem and Safed again became centres of Jewish population and influence. Safed, as a seat of learning, attracted Jewish students from all lands. The descendants of Yiddish-speaking Jewish families who settled there in the sixteenth century still speak very little Arabic. The exiles from Spain settled chiefly in Jerusalem and established there a Spanish Quarter which still exists.

Under Turkish rule the various elements of the population lived generally at peace. The attack by the Moghrabiyeh inhabitants of Safed on the Jews in the thirties of last century was a rare incident. It is true that the Moslems resented and continue to resent strongly the idea that Jews and Christians should be treated as their equals, especially as witnesses in courts of law. The fable that the Jews require Christian blood for their Passover ritual is little regarded by Moslems, but is still believed by Christians. Nevertheless, except when such feelings are stirred up by agitators, peace and good-will have always been the normal relations between the Jew and the "Arab" tiller of the soil.

During the later years of Turkish government Jewish immigration was discouraged by law. Pilgrims were required to leave the country after three months, and land could not become Jewish property. But these laws were not strictly operative, they could always be nullified by payment of sufficient *bakshaesh*. Turkish government officials and even the consular agents of the countries from which Jewish settlers came, profited unscrupulously by these payments.

The effect of the Balfour declaration has been a matter of much controversy. Its practical working, however, is in strict accord with what the author of this paper understood it to mean from the day it was issued. The Jew may now freely settle in Palestine, transfer his citizenship from the state of his birth, and become a "Palestinian" and a landowner on the same terms as anyone born in the land. He may now, in fact, enjoy of legal right what formerly he was legally debarred from.

In view of the present acute discontent amongst the Moslems of Palestine, it is important to know that all the land acquired by Jews since 1918 has been honourably purchased, and indeed, generally paid for at

very excessive prices. Under the British administration the titles of the old crown lands of Turkey were transferred to members of the Arab Effendi class. They, regardless of the interests of their own peasantry, have become wealthy by selling at high prices to Jewish purchasers. These Jews cannot well be blamed for the dispossession of the peasantry, who were robbed of their customary rights by the Effendi sellers. But it is not surprising that the peasants feel sore at their loss and envious of the new and highly successful cultivators of the soil they formerly tilled.

The Jewish practice of praying outside the exterior western wall of the Temple area, which has also recently become a matter of controversy, was formerly never challenged and would not, by itself, be capable of stirring up Moslem hatred of the Jews or antagonism to British rule. The present strife of parties in Palestine is traceable largely to influences coming from the outside. Propagandists, who advocate a transference of the Palestinian mandate to France or Italy, have been active. Others favour the establishment of a Papal state in Palestine. These are all engaged practically in undermining the authority of the British mandate, and in stirring up religious and racial strife. It would be disastrous for the country if the British mandate were surrendered, because of the difficulties that the government is encountering. Only British rule can hold the balance true in the midst of the many seemingly conflicting interests. But with a reasonable and strong administration there can be no conflict between the valid interests of Jew and Arab.

The Arab needs the Jew more than the Jew needs the Arab if the land is to be developed. With peace and good-will a brilliant future is possible for this little land. Capital and energy can turn its desolations into fruitful fields. Every mountain to its summit can be turned into orchard land. Palestine will more than ever be a link in commerce between East and West, the key to the trade of the three continents. Haifa will in the Levant attain to an importance not less than that of Alexandria and Port Said. A harbour is now in process of construction that is to cost over one million pounds sterling, and its bay will afford anchorage for the whole British Fleet. The Mosul petroleum pipe-line will have its opening to the west and headquarters in Haifa. And the railway which links it with Egypt will, with small additions, unite the Mediterranean with the Persian Gulf, unite Palestine, Transjordan, Central Syria, Arabia and Mesopotamia, without the necessity of crossing a single hill. Of this port alone on all the coast of Syria and Palestine can this be said. In every other case there are difficulties and almost impossibilities to be overcome.

More than ever in the past will Palestine become the land of the pilgrim and the tourist, as well as the special attraction of the Bible student; and already such visitors are bringing untold sums and increasing the wealth of the country. Palestine will indeed become a goodly land for learning, agriculture and commerce.

## THE IDOL OF CÁDIZ

BY PROFESSOR W. J. ENTWISTLE, M.A.

I. CLASSICAL writers mention an object of some interest that stood on the island of Salmedina, opposite Chipiona at the mouth of the Guadalquivir. This was the tower of Cæpio, or of Scipio. The attribution to Scipio is made only by Jordanes (*Getica*, chaps. i. and xlv.), and is doubtless of vulgar origin; but that it was general under the later Empire is attested by the modern name Chipiona (Scipionis, with an Arabic change of gender, as often in place-names). Pomponius Mela (*Chorographia*, bk. iii., chap. i.) and Strabo (bk. iii.) call it the Tower of Cæpio (VL.: Capio), which Mela describes as standing outside the harbour of Cádiz. Strabo says: "There is the Oracle of Menestheus and the Tower of Cæpio, built on a sea-girt rock and of marvellous workmanship, like the Pharos, to afford security to travellers. For the mud washed down by the river makes shallows, and the place in front of it is full of reefs, so that it calls for some clear mark. The navigation of the Bætis begins from that spot, with the city of Eburna and the Temple of Phosphorus called Lux Dubia." The geographer does not identify this Cæpio, but Vossius supposed him to have been the Q. Servilius Cæpio who triumphed over the Lusitanians: "I fancy" (he continues) "that he erected the structure in order to prevent the piracy of the Lusitanians." He offers no justification for the fancy. The name, indeed, may be another piece of folk-history, for Avienus (*Ora Maritima*, lines 259 ff. in Schulten's ed. *Fontes Hispaniæ Antiquæ*, fasc. 1) speaks of a Tower of Geron (Arx Gerontis); and Avienus is admitted to have been an antiquarian geographer. In Schulten's opinion the reference to the Tower of Geron goes back to a fourth-century Massiliot Periplus. To Geron the Phœceans transferred the fable of Geryon, and the name appears as Theron in the account of a naval battle between Theron and the inhabitants of Gades in Macrobius, i. 20, 35. But who guarantees any of these ancient kings? Is not Gerontis perhaps a personification of a Greek original γέρωνος, and the phrase equivalent to the Old Man's Tower, his age being inferred perhaps from the possession of a beard? Another geographer of this type, Dionysius Periegetes (lines 64 ff.) describes Gades as lying between two prominent objects, the Pillars of Hercules and "the brazen column; lofty it is, and concealed in thick clouds." This may be mere mythology, as Eustathius avers, who forces this brazen column on Mount Atlas; but it might also be a reference to the conspicuous Arx Gerontis on the island of Chipiona, which contrasted with the other seamark of the Guadalquivir estuary, the Lux Dubia of San Lúcar de Barrameda.

II. R. Dozy collected in his *Recherches sur l'Histoire et la Littérature de l'Espagne* (1881, ii. 311 ff.) a collection of passages referring to a

remarkable pharos which was pulled down at Cádiz in the year 1145. The clearest account is given by a contemporary Almerian geographer, but unfortunately there are many discrepancies between the manuscript used by Dozy and that followed by Gayangos in what appears to be an interpolation in his translation of *Al-Maqqari*. The unknown writer says that the pharos stood to the height of 100 cubits. It was made of masonry, of rough blocks with copper supports. On this was a second tower, one-third the size of the first (this second tower is not mentioned in Gayangos), and on the second tower a small four-sided pyramid set square to the tower. On the pyramid was a block of marble, two fars by two spans, and on the marble a son of Adam, of superlative beauty. The figure faced the sea to the west, its left arm was raised, index pointing, as if declaring the way to the Straits of Gibraltar; the right hung down under its cloak grasping a rod ending in the lashes of a goad (or, according to Gayangos, in teeth like a curry comb), but decidedly not a key. It was twelve spans in length, but looked small on account of its distance from the earth. The statue was destroyed in 1145 owing to a rumour that it was of gold. It was found to be of brass washed with gold, and twelve thousand gold dinārs were extracted.

The rumour of gold was due to a brilliant light at sunrise and sunset, between green and ruddy, like the collar of a pigeon; but a bluish-green predominated. "It served to direct the Moslems at sea. When the way-mark was obscured, they were entering or leaving the ocean, so that he who would make the journey from the Mediterranean to the coast of Morocco, to Lisbon, etc., would continue to advance into the sea until the mark was hidden, and then setting his sails he would hold on to whatever Moroccan anchorage he desired, such as Azila, Infi and the Sūs coast." Our informant further states that after its destruction the Norsemen were unable to navigate the Straits. There was only one expedition, in 1150, when one ship was broken at the "Normans' anchorage" (Arzilla ?) and the other near Trafalgar. I may refer the Arabist to Dozy for the other authorities, who do not much strengthen this account, while introducing confusing particulars. There is a tendency to pluralise the monument in Ibn al-Wardī, Idrīsī and Al-Mas'ūdī. They associate the pharos either with the navigation of the Straits or with the prohibition of entry into the Atlantic; and in this respect, as marking the bounds of the viable earth, it was a pillar of Hercules, as the author of the *Primeru Crónica General* (Chap. V) realised. As to the precise situation of the pharos, it was on an island (Abū Ḥāmid of Granada), in the water (Ibn Iyās), on the seashore (Pseudo-Turpin), or "in a sandy desert on the seashore" (according to one of Al-Maqqari's more fantastic informants). In the *Fornmannar Sögur* (bk. iv. p. 58, apud Dozy, *op. cit.* ii. 307) Olaf Haraldsson, the Viking, about the year 1010, landed in a place known to him as Karláar (the Man's Water), which was probably the Bay of Cádiz. There "a man of princely and awful aspect" appeared to him in a dream

and bade him desist from his undertaking and sail back to Norway. He took the statue's gesture, as others did, for a warning.

III. We have thus a classical pharos, a wonderful piece of work, in the island of Chipiona, attested reliably from the first to the sixth centuries of our era, and conjecturally from the fourth century B.C. Then it disappears from mention, but an equally veracious succession of authorities describe a pharos, of classical workmanship, in the harbour of Cádiz, from the ninth century to the twelfth. It is hard to find room for this work in the bay of Cádiz, or to imagine its purpose there; but if we interpret the description liberally as within the environs of Cádiz, we may identify the Moslem monument with that mentioned by classical authorities at Chipiona, fifteen miles away. This identification agrees with the precise locations given, being on an island, in the water, but near enough to land to be considered as on the seashore; and at the same time close to the sands of San Lúcar and the sandy desert of the Arenas Gordas. The hypothesis of the existence of two phari seems unacceptable, as there is no mention of the destruction of a first-class work of antiquity in the period between Jordanes and Al-Rāzi, nor was there the technical skill to raise one. The identification of the Moslem monument with the other, not attempted by Dozy, who supposed that there was no classical evidence in the matter, should be accepted, subject to archaeological confirmation or rebuttal. The Almerian author states that 'Alī ibn 'Isā, who broke up the tower, made a *journey* for the purpose.

IV. What was the use of this pharos? Strabo mentions the reefs and shallows at the mouth of the Guadalquivir, and his *Lux Dubia* seems to give a second mark by which to set a straight course. Gayangos' copy of the Almerian geographer speaks of sailing *towards* the pharos. But the text used by Dozy speaks of sailing east to west *in view of* the monument, and this is in keeping with the index finger that pointed to the Straits, and with what the Almerian authority says of the Norse failure in 1150 to navigate the Straits. But Chipiona is nearly sixty miles distant from the Straits, and how could it serve for this navigation? Owing to the discrepancy about the second tower in the pharos, we cannot give the height of the whole structure. The text of Dozy's manuscript indicated a height of 140 cubits, more or less. In the full daylight the height alone made it visible, but under the level rays of the sun at dawn and dusk the metallic glitter had the effect of a lighthouse, with a wide arc of visibility and a longer period of light than the surrounding landmarks. Seamen might therefore lay a course along the chord of this vast semicircle, at a great distance from the shore and while themselves out of sight of land. They thus avoided all the risky water at the river's mouth, and held to the high sea, making for Trafalgar or Faro (another pharos) in Portugal. They could use for this purpose some of the hours of dusk at both ends of the day, and their invisibility from the coastal stations was an important asset for the Norse pirates, who could escape the vigilance of the caliphal

fleet at San Lúcar. It seems, then, that the use of the seamark was twofold. The more timid sailors, such as the Romans, knew it as a guide to the Guadalquivir estuary; the bolder, like the Normans, used it for open-sea sailing, picking up the coast-line at Faro or Trafalgar.

V. Who built this work? The Moslem authorities call it a work of the giants, that is of antiquity. The name of Scipio was one to conjure with, but nothing more. The name of Cæpio was certainly less illustrious, except as a defendant in a case of political bribery; and if a Roman built it, why did they not use it for the navigation of the Straits? Besides, Cæpio does not explain Geron, or Geryon, or Theron. These names make the monument pre-Roman, if we are to attach any credit to Avienus; and Schulten would assert that it is pre-Greek. But before the Greeks came, it was not the Tartessians and Turditanians who sailed the seas, but the Phœnicians; and we conclude that the monument was of Phœnician workmanship, according to all documentary probability. If so the figure of the Man was not a figure of Melkarth, seeing that we are expressly informed that Melkarth was not represented in human form. A Greek, however, in Phœnician waters, seeing a bearded man with a cloak and a club on a monument, must often have recognised Herakles, and termed the entire erection the Column of Herakles. When the Greeks were at length excluded from the Atlantic trade by the Carthaginians and Etruscan victory at Alalia, the gesture of the arm must have seemed an order to turn back whence they came. And so, in Greek references to the Columns of Hercules, it is not certain whether Herakles divided Europe from Africa to encourage Atlantic travel, or brought Europe near Africa to cut off the Mediterranean from the Atlantic. More precise knowledge of the Spanish coast taught Greek geographers to place the Pillars at Gibraltar and Ceuta, using metaphorically of mountains a word given by the *peripli* to a lighthouse.

In this connection it is worth noting that both classical and Moslem authors stray into the plural when describing these objects. They indicate various places on the shores of Spain, in the Fortunate Islands, and even at the mouth of the Loire. In most cases they may be fabling, and in some they fall into error. Thus Idrisi brackets with the Chipiona pillar another at Coruña, which is the lighthouse that contains a foundation-stone by Trajan. That pharos may, however, stand on the emplacement of some older monument. What seems to arise out of the plurality of Pillars of Hercules is the probability that a succession of such phari marked the important stages in the circumnavigation of Spain. The Coruña tower is said to look towards Britain, and so it effectively would if it marked the route of the tin-traders going to the Scilly Islands. Dozy's bold identification of the Chipiona tower as a Pillar of Hercules seems justified despite the cloudy references of the ancient chorographers. I would go farther and claim that "pillars of Hercules" were the seamarks erected by the worshippers of the Tyrian Hercules (Melkarth) at strategic points of the route to the Cassiterides.



28th March, 1932

Twenty-four members attended this meeting. The three papers summarised below were read. By coincidence the Rev. R. B. Douglas, B.D., Alibag, India, had sent a communication on the subject of Professor Fulton's paper, and extracts from this communication are also given.<sup>1</sup> Some recent books were displayed and commented on.

### MOHENJO-DARO:

#### THE INDUS VALLEY CIVILIZATION CIRCA 3000 B.C.

BY PROFESSOR WM. FULTON, B.Sc., D.D.

IN recent years remarkable discoveries have been made in the Indus Valley, principally at Mohenjo-daro in Sind. The result would appear to be that our knowledge of Indian civilization has been carried back no less than three thousand years. Incidentally, we have gained new light also upon the obscure question of the origins of Hinduism.

A record of the Mohenjo-daro discoveries is contained in a large three-volume monograph edited and published in 1931 by Sir John Marshall, late Director-General of Archaeology in India. It is a handsome work, and is profusely illustrated with photographs and drawings. The services not only of experienced archaeologists have been enlisted, but of experts in chemistry and metallurgy, zoology and anthropology, not to speak of Oriental tongues.

I. It now appears beyond question that in the fourth and third millennia B.C. the peoples of the Indus country had reached the Chalcolithic stage of culture. Accordingly, we are prepared to find much in common between them and the contemporary peoples of the valleys of the Tigris, the Euphrates, and the Nile. The society of the Indus peoples was organized in cities; their wealth was derived mainly from agriculture and trade; they were skilled in metal work and conversant with spinning and weaving; they manufactured domestic vessels of earthenware turned on the wheel; they wore personal ornaments made of precious metals; and they were familiar with the invention of writing.

But the Indus civilization had its own distinctive features.

Of all the buildings congregated about the lofty mound at Mohenjo-daro the most remarkable is the Great Bath, which is a vast hydropathic establishment, probably of religious significance. There is nothing to

<sup>1</sup> See p. 69.

compare with it in prehistoric Egypt or anywhere in Western Asia. It contains a tank, thirty-nine feet in length by twenty-three feet in breadth, and sunk eight feet below the floor level.

The other remains are for the most part private dwelling houses or shops. The dwelling houses appear to have been spacious and well constructed, and in general provided with bathrooms. It looks as though the amenities of life enjoyed by the average citizen at Mohenjo-daro were far beyond anything to be found in the fourth or third millennium B.C. in Babylonia or on the banks of the Nile.

Mention should be made of the painted pottery found at Mohenjo-daro, and in particular the red-and-black ware which is peculiar to the Indus culture. But the most interesting of all the objects of art are the engraved and inscribed seals unearthed in large quantities at various levels, of a similar design and script to the seals unearthed a number of years ago at Harappa in the Punjab. Sir John Marshall says that nothing we know of in other countries at this period bears any resemblance, in point of style, to the intaglio engravings on these seals, "the best of which—notably the humped and short-horned bulls—are distinguishable by a breadth of treatment and a feeling for line and plastic form that has rarely been surpassed in glyptic art."

The discovery at Susa and several sites in Mesopotamia of typical Indian seals, having devices and inscriptions like those of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, throws light on the date of the Indus Valley civilization. For those Indian seals in Mesopotamia have been found in positions which leave no doubt that they belonged to the period before Sargon I, that is, before 2700 B.C. To this date Sir John Marshall would assign the first city at Mohenjo-daro; the second, he would assign to c. 3000 B.C.; and the third to c. 3300 B.C.

Confirmatory of this general conclusion is the interesting seal found by Mr. Woolley at Ur, bearing the characteristic Indus device of the short-horned bull with manger and an inscription in cuneiform characters. It comes from pre-Sargonic times. Possibly it belonged to an Indian trader residing at Ur and the language used was Indian.

As for the early Indus Valley script, for which the seals provide the main source, its signs are pictographs in origin, like those employed by other contemporary peoples of Western Asia and the Nearer East, but they have become standardized, says Professor Langdon, to neat monumental forms. The result is that very few of the objects portrayed can now be identified. The writing remains, however, in what may be called an Egyptian analogy the hieroglyphic state; it has not been worn down by use to conventional or stereotyped summaries like the Egyptian hieratic, the Babylonian cuneiform, or the Chinese writing. This is due in great part to the hardness of the material, usually steatite, upon which the inscriptions are found.

In Professor Langdon's opinion this Indus script is the source of the

Brahmi script, the early syllabic alphabet of Northern India, from which all later characters were derived. He has little confidence in the theories which claim a Semitic origin for the Brahmi script. Of course it would not follow on his theory that the language of the early Indus Valley seals is Indo-Germanic. The Babylonians borrowed the Sumerian ideographic and syllabic script for writing their Semitic language. It is pure legend, says Professor Langdon, to claim so early a date as c. 3000 B.C. for the existence of an Aryan civilization in India.

II. Consider now what Mohenjo-daro can tell us regarding the religious beliefs of the Dravidian and other pre-Aryan races of India, and in particular what light it throws upon the problem of Hindu origins.

Pottery figurines are found at Mohenjo-daro in great numbers at all levels, in nearly every case portraying a standing female, almost nude. These appear to represent the Great Mother Goddess, whose cult became prevalent in historic times throughout most of Western Asia, and is widespread in the India of to-day, especially among the pre-Aryan tribes, some of whom have never really come within the fold of Hinduism. Thus the pre-Aryan civilization of India explains the prevalence in modern India of a cult which finds no place in the Vedic religion of the Indo-Aryans.

Further light is thrown upon the history of Hinduism by the appearance at Mohenjo-daro of a male god, clearly to be identified from his attributes with the historic Siva. Now Siva, usually identified with the old Vedic god Rudra, is a figure of but secondary rank in the Vedic hymns. How comes it that he has gained precedence in Hinduism over Indra, Varuna, Agni, and the other old Vedic deities? How comes it also that, contrary to the old Vedic tradition and the Brahman law, he possesses temples, images, and temple priesthoods? May it not be that the roots of his religion reach beyond the Aryan religion of the Veda, and that the pre-Aryan peoples of India worshipped him, if under another name, and imposed his religion upon the Aryan invaders and immigrants? The excavations at Mohenjo-daro appear to confirm this conjecture.

That the peoples of the Indus Valley worshipped their deities in lower as well as higher form, in aniconic as well as iconic or anthropomorphic form, is evidenced from the phallic, baetylic (mostly meteoric), and other stones which have been unearthed in great number from the ruins at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa.

The worship of trees also prevailed in India in the Chalcolithic age. Sometimes the tree itself was worshipped in its natural form, sometimes the tree-spirit was personified and endowed with human shapes and attributes. We may gather indeed from the Rig Veda that tree-worship was practised by the pre-Aryan, not by the Aryan, population of India.

Even more abundant than the evidence for tree-worship among the Indus people is the evidence for animal-worship, also foreign to the Vedic religion. That the cult of the bull in particular was very prevalent is proved by the large number of terra-cotta bulls found by the excavators as well

as by the frequent delineation of the bull on the seals and on the potter's ware.

The discoveries in the Indus Valley are, then, of deep significance for the student of the rise and growth of Hinduism. About five thousand years ago, as it would appear, the Mother Goddess so honoured and revered to-day in the villages of India, and the ancestor of Siva, who divides with Vishnu the allegiance of two hundred millions of Hindus, were worshipped by a pre-Aryan people; among whom also the worship of stones and trees and animals was maintained in much the same form as in historic times. Already, as it might be put, religion in India was characteristically Indian.

"No doubt," says Sir John Marshall, "the non-Aryan jungle tribes of to-day preserve for us some of the cruder and more elemental features of the pre-Aryan religion. But to assume that such features represent the sum total of that religion is as irrational as to suppose that the rude grass and mud hovels of these same jungle tribes are representative of the massive edifices of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa."

#### AN ANCIENT PHOENICIAN POEM DISCOVERED AT RAS SHAMRA

BY PROFESSOR W. B. STEVENSON, D.LITT., D.D.

THIS paper first described the place and circumstances of the discovery of the poem. Ras Shamra is a site near the Syrian coast, slightly north of the modern Latakia. Excavations have been conducted there since the spring of 1929 under the auspices of the French Academy. Many cuneiform tablets, written in at least four languages, have been found by the excavators. These languages are Accadian, Sumerian, Phœnician or Canaanite, and what is supposed to be native Hurrite (Horite) of the north Syrian territory of Subartu (Mitanni). A vocabulary of this fourth language has been found and published (*Syria*, vol. 12, p. 234 ff.).<sup>1</sup>

What proved to be Phœnician tablets were seen at once to be written in a new cuneiform alphabet. Its decipherment was quickly accomplished by the joint efforts of three scholars—Hans Bauer, Père Dhorme and Charles Virolleaud—who, beginning independently, supplemented one another's results in friendly rivalry. Virolleaud's starting-point and method are described in *Syria*, vol. 12 (1931), p. 16 f. He began by a happy identification of the letter and preposition *l* ("belonging to"). From this he obtained *mlk* (king), *mlkm* (kings), *b'l* (Ba'al) and *b'lt* (Ba'alat), and finally *šš* (three). With this nucleus of seven distinct letters, out of a total of 28, further progress was comparatively easy. A striking feature of the new alphabet is the distinction it makes between three kinds of *aleph*, which

<sup>1</sup> The great city which is being excavated at Ras Shamra is now (March, 1934) provisionally identified as the ancient town of Ugarit. It seems to have been finally destroyed in the early part of the twelfth century B.C. But the stratum in which the principal find of tablets was made may belong to the early fourteenth century.

vary according to the associated vowel. There are two *hells* and two *'ayins*, as in Arabic, and also two *samells*, two *padhes* and two *shins*.<sup>1</sup>

Ten tablets, or portions of tablets, written in the new alphabet, were found to contain about 1000 lines of poetry. Five of the fragments preserved approximately 500 lines of what seems to be a single narrative poem or epic work. Part of this poem was published, translated and annotated by M. Virolleaud in *Syria*, vol. 12 (1931), p. 193 ff. Its leading personages are Alein and Môt. Alein's history is similar to that of the Greek Persephonê, and the Babylonian Tammuz who symbolise the annual death and resurrection of vegetable life. Môt—death—is Alein's chief enemy. The goddess 'Anât, represented as a sister of Alein, rescues him from Môt. She is helped by El, chief of the gods, and by Ba'al. Finally Alein is restored to his former position and Môt is sent off to the under world.<sup>2</sup>

This poem adds greatly to our knowledge of the Canaanite language and religion and must be taken account of by all students of the O.T. The close resemblance in vocabulary and grammar between Biblical Hebrew and northern Canaanite is a striking proof of the affinity of the two peoples. The Canaanite origin of the divine name El seems to be clearly established. Asherah emerges as a goddess closely associated with El. Ba'alat and Elat are another pair of divine beings. The original Daniel of Hebrew tradition seems also to have been found in another poem, as yet unpublished. It is noted (by René Dussaud) that the new discovery explains Ezekiel's assumption (28. 3) that Daniel was a personage known to the Phœnicians.

It may be assumed that the new cuneiform alphabet is historically connected with the "Phœnician alphabet" which is at least as old as the fourteenth century B.C. Probably the Phœnicians of northern Syria, when they settled there and saw the advantages of writing their language upon clay tablets in cuneiform, instead of on papyrus with ink, transferred, with some alterations, the alphabetic system which they had previously used, into cuneiform characters. It was supremely fortunate that they did so, for so alone could some portion of Phœnician literature be preserved.

## ASHANTI WEIGHTS IN THE HUNTERIAN MUSEUM

BY THE REV. JAMES ROBSON, M.A.

THE Hunterian Museum possesses an excellent collection of Ashanti gold weights and other articles connected with the weighing of gold, collected by our late Recording Secretary, the Rev. F. A. Steuart, B.D.

<sup>1</sup> This sentence summarises Virolleaud's final results as given in *Syria*, vol. 14 (1933), p. 129. He now recognises thirty letters in the new alphabet.

<sup>2</sup> Since this paper was read M. Virolleaud has published about 400 lines of the same epic, largely derived from four additional cuneiform fragments (*Syria*, vol. 13, 1932, p. 113 ff.).

There are three metal boxes for holding gold dust, four spoons for placing gold dust on scales, two shovels for scooping up gold dust, a pair of scales, 87 weights in the form of figures and 113 with geometrical designs. It is thus a very representative collection.

In his book entitled *Ashanti*, Capt. R. S. Rattray refers to three classes of gold weights: (a) Weights representing the human form, animals, fishes, insects, birds, etc., alone or depicting certain ceremonies and rites, or illustrating some saying or story connected with the object depicted. (b) Weights representing inanimate objects, plants, seeds, fruit, weapons, articles in daily use, etc. (c) Weights in which the designs appear geometrical and were perhaps once symbolical. The swastika is often represented in this class.

The weights in the Hunterian collection correspond closely to photographs given by Rattray. Those with geometrical designs are not identical with weights shown by Rattray, but they display different combinations of the same elements of design. A rough weighing of some of the weights shows that they correspond very closely to standards mentioned by Rattray. It therefore appears that this collection would repay investigation.

3rd October, 1932

There were 21 members and one visitor at this meeting. The two papers summarised below were read, and some recent books were displayed and commented upon.

### PERSONAL EXPERIENCES IN THE NEAR EAST

By DR. W. H. McLEAN, M.I.C.E., M.P.

THIS paper, illustrated by lantern slides, described Dr. McLean's experiences in Egypt, Palestine and the Sudan during twenty years as a civil servant in these countries.

He began with his work in the Gordon College, Khartum, where in 1906 he organised a school of engineering to teach the sons of the wild dervish amirs who had so recently fought against us at the battle of Omdurman. Views were shown of the old Khartum of Gordon's time and of the modern city which Dr. McLean planned along with Lord Kitchener.

Some views and measured drawings of an early Christian church at Old Dongola were shown; the only complete example now remaining of what was probably a chain of fortified churches along the east bank of the Nile.

Views were shown of the principal monuments of Egypt, and also of Alexandria, ancient and modern. Alexandria, the most wonderful white

marble city of the ancients, was compared with the modern city, and Dr. McLean's plan for the development of the modern city was shown. It is designed to contain a million people, the number which it held in the time of Cleopatra.

Dr. McLean then showed views of Jerusalem and its environs including Bethany, Siloam and Bethlehem. He described the town-planning scheme of protection for Jerusalem which he had prepared at the request of Lord Allenby in 1918. The scheme was to protect the old city and the historic sites and Holy Places in its neighbourhood from being spoilt by uncontrolled building operations, and the erection of large modern buildings on sites like the slopes of the Mount of Olives. The old city was to be preserved in its mediæval aspect and to be surrounded by an open belt of land including Mount Zion. In an outer belt of land, including the Mount of Olives, Olivet and Bethany, only buildings of the village type were to be permitted. Dr. McLean concluded by remarking that this scheme of protection had been carried out and that the excellent results were to-day apparent.

### THE JERICHO POTTERY (1931 COLLECTION) IN THE HUNTERIAN MUSEUM

BY THE REV. JOHN MAUCHLINE, B.D.

[*Note.*—Owing to the fact that the excavation numbers of the various objects referred to in this article are not readily recognizable by the public visitor to the case in which they are displayed in the Hunterian Museum, a special system of reference numbers has been adopted. The sides of the case are designated N and S, the former looking northward to Wellington Church and the latter southward to the College Tower. The three panels or sections in the case are numbered 1, 2, 3, from the onlooker's left. The five shelves are designated *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, beginning from the bottom, and the two rows of objects, front and rear on each shelf, are differentiated by the Greek letters  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  respectively after the number of the object in the row, e.g. N2*d*3 *$\alpha$* , means the north side of the case, the second section, the second top shelf, the third object in the front row. The case containing this collection is now numbered 16.]

It was inevitable that, by reason of its geographical situation as well as its historical importance, Jericho should, sooner or later, attract the spade of the excavator with the promise of a profitable field of search, and the pottery which is our immediate concern was found during the 1931 season by Professor Garstang and his staff. A cave-tomb was found near the Western foothills and it proved to belong to the period round about 2000 B.C., and later on others were brought to light, with the result that this season's work was rewarded with results of unusual interest and value.

Maybe, then, we should best achieve our purpose of appreciating the nature and the worth of this collection of pottery from Jericho, if we consider briefly the course of development of ceramic art in Palestine, and make incidental and illustrative references to the collection as we proceed.

*Period up to 2000 B.C.*

The first period with which we have to deal is the early Bronze Age, up to 2000 B.C. In it the potter's art was still largely undeveloped. The clay used was a gritty limestone of a dull drab colour, which, because of its resemblance to oatmeal porridge, is often named porridge-ware (cf. S3d3β and other objects on that shelf). At other times a flinty clay, full of fine quartz fragments, was employed, examples of which have been found at all the sites. At this time there was no cleaning or refining of clay. The vessels were modelled by hand; the potter's wheel had not yet arrived. The large vessels were often modelled by being built up from the base in instalments. The firing was frequently imperfect, the heat being unevenly distributed, so that different colours were produced upon the surface of the object (cf. N1a1α; S3c3α; S3c3β). Sometimes it is to be noticed that the inner wall of a jar belonging to this early period has a black colour. This phenomenon has been explained in several ways. One theory is that the vessel was baked in such a way that the smoke of the fire was made to pass within the vessel so that a carbon deposit was formed. But a more possible explanation has been given by Mr. Crowfoot, to the effect that people threw straw over and around the vessel while it was being baked. The straw became carbonised and the carbon during the baking process passed through the walls of the vessel to the inside.

The commonest types of pottery found in this period are flat-bottomed jars (cf. N1a2α; N1a2β; N1a3α; N1a3β; etc.) usually with ledge handles; small jugs with rounded base (cf. N1b3α; N2c4α); and larger jugs with vertical loop handles. In the case of all larger vessels, this is the period of the flat base (cf. the shelves S1e, S2e, N1a). These types, then, as will have been noticed, find ample illustration in our collection. It will be remarked that one of the jugs (N1b4β) has a rough surface, with a mass of small cavities not unlike pock-marking. This phenomenon is probably due to the bursting of air-bubbles during baking, owing to the over-rapid condensation of the water present in the clay.

The process of burnishing is rare in this period; it reached its highest use in the Middle Bronze Age, and it will be dealt with later. The decoration of pottery in the Early Bronze Age was largely of three kinds.

(a) Drip-line or painted stripe decoration (cf. N1b3β; S3b2α; S3b2β; S3b3α; etc.).

(b) Combed decoration; this is probably the most characteristic type of ornamentation of the period, but we have been unable to find any examples of it in the collection.

(c) Moulded decoration. The mould was fixed separately to the vessel



and usually took the form of an imitation of ropes or cords. The examples of these to be found in the collection belong to a later period and come from the city of Jericho, not from the tombs.

*Period 2000-1800 B.C.—Middle Bronze I.*

We now come to the time when it is believed the potter's wheel came into use. It was at first hand-driven, and from spiral marks left on the bottom of vessels, it has been inferred that the motion of the wheel was counter-clockwise, so that the potter's left hand was employed to work it, while his right hand manipulated the clay. The result of the use of the wheel was that from this time on, form greatly improves, and irregularities become less common. And different clays are now employed (cf. N2d1a; N2d2β; N2d3α; N2d3β). The old porridge-ware still survives, but there is now often found a fine well-cleaned type of clay.

Many of the types of vessels of the previous age naturally persist, for there are never clear divisions, but a development from, and in the midst of, older forms. Flat-bottomed jars are still found, but it is generally noticed that the bodies of these are now becoming more shapely and carefully moulded. There is a type of juglet which is very common. Its height ranges from 2 inches to 1 foot. It has a pear-shaped body, a narrow neck, with one vertical loop-handle, the base being round or pointed (cf. the shelves N1c, N1d, N2c, N2d, etc.). Many wide shallow bowls are now found, some with inverted rims (cf. S3a2α; S3a3β). The combed ornament still is in use, and moulded ornament is still worked with the fingers on the surface of the vessel. The drip lines of the former period now fall into ornamental groups, making various geometric patterns, but of these we have no example before us. But above all, this period shows the art of burnishing in its highest development. It has been maintained, with a great degree of probability, that, in its early use, burnishing was employed to make the surface of the vessel hard and non-porous, but as the need for such a practice passed away with the advent of finer clays, it became simply a method of decoration (cf. N1c2α and β; N1c4α; N2c3α, etc.). We can say of this period that we have very fine illustrations in our collection, with a somewhat notable gap on the decorative side.

*Period 1800-1600 B.C.—Middle Bronze II.*

This period shows the high-water mark of the potter's art and is of intense interest. The clay used now was very fine and homogeneous, and the potter's wheel came to be worked by foot. From observations of the base of vessels, it has been inferred that again the counter-clockwise spinning of the wheel was customary and from this MacAlister concludes that the left foot was used invariably to produce the required motion. But this would imply an inward action of the left foot, and surely an outward action of the right foot would achieve the same purpose. In fact,

it is the method we ourselves have seen actually in use in Palestine to-day and it satisfies the conditions equally as well as the other way.

As for shapes, in the case of jars the round bottom now takes the place of the flat. The ledge-handles on jugs and jars are now displaced by loop-handles (cf. N1a1α; N2a3β), and the development in the form of jars is very well illustrated in the collection (cf. S1e). They are becoming increasingly shapely and elegant. Burnishing is still practised in its finest forms (cf. N2b3α), though there are cases to be found which show an incipient decadence. Painted ornament is now most common, but it does not find much illustration in our collection, whereas a few good examples of incised ornament are to be noted (cf. N2a3α, N2a4β). Lamps make their first appearance in this period; they are just shallow saucers with a spout drawn out at one side (cf. S1a1β from the city).

For this period too we are justified in saying that our collection gives us some very fine examples.

*Period 1600–1200 B.C.—Late Bronze Age.*

And so we pass to consider the last age which is relevant to our purpose. It is another period of fine clays and shapely forms. The bases of jugs are now often blunter than formerly, and in vases and jars ring bases are now found. Painted decoration is still very common, but moulded ornament (cf. S1a2α; S1a2β; together with N3a2α; N3a2β; N3a3β from the city) is now rarer. Burnishing has neither the skill nor the frequency of the preceding period; it is in fact a decadent art. But this is a period which is as yet without illustration in the collection in the Hunterian Museum; future additions may remedy the defect.

Such then, is a general survey of the development of pottery in Palestine with special reference to the Jericho (1931) Pottery Collection in the Hunterian Museum. It may be that some of the most interesting vessels which were discovered have found a lodging place in the Palestine Museum of Antiquities in Jerusalem, but we must admit that the crumbs that have fallen from the table are sufficient to make a fairly complete meal for us. One thing we have noticed. In the collection, as we have it, there is a notable absence of decorated vessels, especially of painted vessels, and whereas it is much too early yet to jump to any general conclusions, nevertheless it may be that the potters of Jericho paid more attention to producing vessels of beautiful form than to adding superficial decoration. If this was actually so, their efforts were eminently successful.

28th March, 1933

At this meeting 24 members were present. The three papers summarised below were read. Thereafter at a luncheon in the

College Rooms which was attended by 30 people, composed of members and guests, presentations were made to Professor and Mrs. Stevenson to mark Professor Stevenson's completion of 25 years as President of the Society.

## SEMITIC ELEMENTS IN THE POETRY OF ROBERT BROWNING

*Literary sources of poems dealing with oriental themes*

BY THE REV. ALEXANDER MOFFATT, B.D.

THIS paper dealt particularly with "The return of the Druses" and the epistle of Karshish. It was argued that Browning must have studied carefully some authoritative description of the Druses, probably De Sacy's treatise on their religion published in 1838. Jabal, the leader of the insurrection, is said to have visited France and associated with the crusading Count of Dreux, but to have denied any connection between Dreux and Druses. Carra de Vaux in vol. 5 of *Penseurs d'Islam* sketches the life of a Muslim Emir called Fakhr-ed-din in the Lebanon in the early part of the seventeenth century. He visited Italy and claimed for the Druses the French origin Browning mentioned. As authority Mignot's *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman* (1771) is mentioned. This may have been the basis of Browning's description of Jabala.

The epistle of Karshish uses symbolism which requires a knowledge of Hebrew to interpret it. This epistle is said to be the twenty-second sent to Abib, whose name is the same as that of a spring month, the season when Jesus was crucified; and in the first century A.D. the 22nd letter of the Hebrew alphabet had the form of a cross. Browning has set a cross at the head of the epistle. Among other points, it was suggested that Browning gained most of his topographic details from Josephus, *The Wars of the Jews*, book 4, chap. 8.<sup>1</sup>

## THE MAGICAL USE OF THE KORAN

BY THE REV. JAMES ROBSON, M.A.

THE books which will be quoted most frequently are the following, and the letter mentioned after each will be used for reference:

1. *Shams al Ma'arif al Kubrā*, by Aḥmad b. 'Alī al Būnī. (4 parts in one vol. Cairo, n.d.). B.

<sup>1</sup> This paper is summarised briefly because it forms part of a fuller examination the author hopes to make of the poetry of Browning which was influenced by Semitic life and literature

2. The *Mujarrabât* of Aḥmad al Dairabī. (Cairo, n.d.). D.
3. The *Mujarrabât* of Abū 'Abdallah Moḥammad b. Yūsuf al Sanūsī. (On margin of D.) S.
4. *Al Durr al Naṣīm fī Khawāṣṣ al Kor'ān al 'Aẓīm*, by Abū Moḥammad 'Abdallah b. As'ad al Yamanī al Yāfi'. (Cairo, n.d.) Y.
5. *Shumūs al Anwār wa Kunūs al Asrār*, by Ibn al Ḥajj al Tilimsānī (Cairo, 1338 A.H.) T.

Flügel's numbering of verses has been followed in quoting passages from the Koran.

The subject has given rise to discussion among Muslims, and some have felt that such a use of the Koran is no different from types of magic which are condemned as ungodly practices. But the general consensus of opinion has been in favour of the lawfulness of such a use of the Koran. In his commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Nawawī (vol. V, p. 31) mentions that some have objected to the use of charms, but he declares that the general opinion is that they are allowable if they contain verses of the Koran or invocations. He follows this with an interesting discussion as to whether it is allowable to use charms not in Arabic, saying that some disapproved of this, as one never knew what the people of other religions had put in them. But he argues that even such may be used. His position is that, although it is well known that those who received earlier Scriptures have changed them, one can be confident that in a charm they would not dare to write anything but the genuine Scripture.

Both Bokhārī<sup>1</sup> and Muslim<sup>2</sup> tell of a man who had used the *Fātiḥa* as a charm for snake-bite, and of how when the prophet was told about it, he not only gave his approval, but also approved of such a person being rewarded. They also tell of Moḥammad's use of the last two suras, which are obvious charms, tracing their information back to 'Ā'isha. Bokhārī<sup>1</sup> tells how when Moḥammad had a complaint, he used to recite these two suras and spit. When the pain was severe, 'Ā'isha recited them over him and rubbed him with his hand, in the hope that he would receive a blessing. She is also reported as saying that every night when Moḥammad went to bed he joined his hands together, then spat into them, after which he recited the last three suras of the Koran. Then he wiped as much of his body as he could three times, beginning with the head, face and front of the body. Muslim quotes the same tradition.<sup>3</sup> Bokhārī has an interesting tradition about the Throne Verse. Abū Huraira was one night in charge of the alms of Ramaḍān when someone came and began to throw food about. Abū Huraira seized him and threatened to take him before the prophet, but he persuaded him to let him go after telling him that if he recited the Throne Verse on going to bed, God would send a guardian to stay with him, and no devil would come near him all night. The sequel is

<sup>1</sup> Bokhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* III (Kitāb Faḍā'il al Kor'ān).

<sup>2</sup> Nawawī, V, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 38, 39.

interesting. Abū Huraira told Moḥammad about it next day, and he said, "He told you the truth, although he is a liar. That was a devil." Muslim tells how Moḥammad was bewitched by a Jew by means of a piece of knotted string, but merely tells how it was discovered and the spell removed.<sup>1</sup> Baiḍāwī, in his commentary on sura 113, has a much more interesting story. This Jew bewitched Moḥammad by tying eleven knots in a piece of string, which made him become ill. Then the last two suras of the Koran, which together have eleven verses, were revealed. Moḥammad recited them, and at each verse a knot was loosed. When he had finished reciting them, all the knots were loosed, after which he felt better.

The suras, and even verses of the Koran, are held to have a servant connected with them, and are frequently employed in order to gain his services; but more commonly they are used for their own worth. Suras are sometimes even invested with a personality, as we read of them interceding for those who have used them.<sup>2</sup>

There is also a kind of hierarchy among the suras. Al Būnī<sup>3</sup> declares that the Throne Verse (2. 256) is the greatest verse in the Koran. Baiḍāwī, who at the close of his commentary on the various suras reproduces almost literally Zamakhsharī's notes on their virtues, declares that he who has recited sura 36 is as though he had recited the Koran 22 times. He says sura 112 is equal to a third of the Koran and sura 109 to a quarter. Bokhārī<sup>4</sup> says that the *Fātiḥa* is the greatest sura in the Koran.

There is a group of verses known as *Ayāt al Ḥifẓ* (verses of guarding). There is, however, a variety of opinion as to what they are. Al Būnī<sup>5</sup> mentions thirteen (2. 256; 41. 11; 37. 7; 15. 17; 15. 9; 13. 12; 85. 21, 22; 37. 74; 21. 88; 6. 104=11. 88; 86. 4; 9. 130; 42. 4). Dairabī mentions seventeen in one place<sup>6</sup> (2. 256; 12. 64; 6. 61; 11. 60; 21. 82; 34. 20; 50. 4; 50. 31; 82. 10; 37. 7; 41. 11; 15. 17; 15. 9; 13. 12; 42. 4; 86. 4; 85. 21, 22) and nineteen in another,<sup>7</sup> (adding to the above 4. 82=42. 47 and 6. 104=11. 88). The reason why these verses are put together from different parts of the Koran is that they contain the root *ḥifẓ* which means "protection." But Al Būnī includes two verses which do not contain this root. They are 37. 74, "And we saved him and his people from the mighty trouble;" and 9. 130, "And if they turn away, say, My sufficiency is God. There is no god but He. In Him have I confided, and He is the Lord of the mighty throne." It will be seen that their inclusion is obviously appropriate.

If you are in a fearsome place, you and your companions should sit back to back on the ground. Then draw a circle round the company, keeping within it yourself. Recite the Throne Verse over the line seven times, at the end of which you should repeat the last few words of it and

<sup>1</sup> Nawawī, V, p. 34.<sup>2</sup> Y, p. 3.<sup>3</sup> B, II, p. 71.<sup>4</sup> *Ṣaḥīḥ* III (Kitāb Faḍā'il al Kor'ān).<sup>5</sup> B, II, p. 69.<sup>6</sup> D, p. 12.<sup>7</sup> D, pp. 38, 39.

recite the verses of guarding. Then say, "Keeper, Keeper, O Guardian, guard us. O God, protect us with Thine eye which does not sleep, and shelter us under Thy wing which is not quitted. O God, O God, O Lord of the worlds." After that you must all keep silence, and not even the hosts of the Arabs will be able to hurt you, for God will guard you.<sup>1</sup> The verses of guarding may also be written out and worn as a charm which will give protection from every injury and anxiety. If written along with the last verse of sura 9 and the last three suras of the Koran, they are a mighty talisman and impregnable charm against haunting spirits and others.<sup>2</sup>

Another group of passages is called *Āyāt al Shifā'* (verses of healing). Six verses in the Koran use the root in this sense and they are naturally taken as a group.<sup>3</sup> (9. 14; 10. 58; 16. 71; 17. 84; 26. 80; 41. 44.)

If someone is suffering from a headache, you should write out the Throne Verse with the letters separate and put it in the neighbourhood of the pain. If the pain is internal, you should write the square connected with this verse on a glass bowl with musk, saffron and rose-water. Then write the verse with letters separate followed by the verses of healing. Then obliterate the writing with bees' honey and recite the Throne Verse over it seven times and give it to the patient to drink. This will cure him.<sup>4</sup> It is said that a man who suffered from pains in the joints and swelling of the knees had the verses of healing written out for him and obliterated with rose-water. He drank some of it and also rubbed some over the sore spots, with the result that he was cured. Sanūsī, who tells this story, adds that one must be convinced that he will be cured if it is to be effective.<sup>5</sup>

Another collection of verses is known as *Futūḥ al Kor'ān*. The root *fath* has the meanings of opening, bestowing and victory, and some of the verses have one meaning and some another. There are seventeen passages.<sup>6</sup> (5. 57; 6. 59; 7. 87; 7. 94; 8. 19; 12. 65; 14. 18; 15. 14; 26. 118; 35. 2; 39. 73; 48. 1; 48. 18, 19; 54. 11; 61. 13; 78. 19; 110. 1). This omits sixteen occurrences of the root, but most of those omitted are not appropriate for the purpose in hand.

If one wears these verses as a charm, he will receive great blessing.<sup>7</sup> For this purpose they may be worn on the upper arm.<sup>8</sup> With an invocation at the end and a prayer for blessing on Moḥammad, his family and his companions, they will assure one of necessary provision either when recited or when worn as a charm.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B, II, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> D, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> B, II, p. 68. S, pp. 134, 135 (omitting 26. 80). Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, Chap. XI. (22. 80 is mentioned in mistake for 26. 80.)

<sup>4</sup> B, II, p. 68.

<sup>5</sup> S, pp. 135, 136.

<sup>6</sup> D, p. 39. Y, p. 23 (he gives 48. 1-19). B, I, p. 105 (he adds 26. 117, and includes the whole of sura 110).

<sup>7</sup> D, p. 39.

<sup>8</sup> Y, p. 23.

<sup>9</sup> B, I, p. 105.

There are five verses which have remarkable power, because the letter *kāf* occurs in each of them ten times. (It should be noted that a letter with *tashdīd* does not count as two.) The verses are 2. 247; 3. 177; 4. 79; 5. 30; 13. 17. If recited in the face of an enemy, he will be overpowered.<sup>1</sup> *Yāfi'* calls them *Āyat al Harb* (verses of war), which would seem quite appropriate, and says that they will ensure victory if written on a standard. He goes on to say that if written on a piece of paper and worn on the head when going into the presence of influential people, they will gain respect for the wearer. This charm will be still more effective if one writes under the verses in Arabic letters, and under that in Indian letters, 155 *kāfs*.<sup>2</sup>

But there are two verses which are even more remarkable than this, for each of them contains every letter of the alphabet. They are 3. 148 and 48. 29. One should write out the phrase, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate" (the *Bismillah*) and a blessing on *Mohammad*, followed by these verses. This worn as a charm removes fear, terror, grief, care and sorrow. If these verses are written on a clean vessel and the writing is obliterated with rose-oil and sweet oil, or oil of sesame, and applied to boils, pustules, scurf, warts and ulcers, they will pass away quickly by God's permission, as has often been proved.<sup>3</sup> They are also said to be a cure for every disease, internal and external, when used as an ointment, a drink, a charm to be worn, or a portion to be recited.<sup>4</sup>

The last two verses of sura 9 have a remarkable property. *Sanūsī*<sup>5</sup> says that one will not die on a day when he recites them. He then tells of a man of seventy who was ill and began to recite them daily. This continued till he reached the age of 130, when *Mohammad* appeared to him in a dream and rebuked him. So he gave up reciting the verses that night and died. *Dairabī*<sup>6</sup> finds a certain difficulty in this property of these verses. He accepts the story that one will not die on a day when he recites them, but he feels he must reconcile this with the doctrine that the date of everyone's death is foreordained. He therefore concludes that when a man's allotted span is up, God will not let him recite them.

*Tilimsānī*<sup>7</sup> deals at length with the benefits of these verses and gives a square of 100 compartments in which the words are written in a jumbled manner, once in each quarter of the square. This square should be written with musk, ambergris, rose-water and saffron when Scorpio is in the ascendant. When worn as a charm it gives protection from violent death and from jinnis. When written and obliterated and given as a drink, it keeps women chaste. Among other uses it makes a garden fertile, relieves headache, helps in childbirth, protects a house from robbers, enables a merchant to sell his goods well, gets husbands for unmarried daughters, keeps a ship from being wrecked and brings travellers safely home.

<sup>1</sup> D, p. 38.<sup>2</sup> Y, p. 30 (he omits 13. 17 in his list).<sup>3</sup> D, p. 39.<sup>4</sup> S, pp. 118, 119.<sup>5</sup> S, pp. 12, 13.<sup>6</sup> D, p. 35.<sup>7</sup> T, pp. 25, 26.

Al Būnī<sup>1</sup> mentions four verses which he calls *Āyāt al Laḥf*, *al Laḥf* being a name of God meaning *the Kind* (6. 103; 12. 101; 42. 18; 67. 14). One who recites the first, morning and evening, and then recites the name *Laḥf* 129 times, will be protected from his enemy. The reason for the number 129 is that the numerical values of the letters in *Laḥf* total up to this sum. The second verse followed by 129 repetitions of *Laḥf* saves from all care. The third verse preceded by *Laḥf* and repeated a great number of times, not specified, will make a poor man rich. *Laḥf* should be recited with the fourth verse morning and evening by anyone who wishes some office such as *kāḍī* or magistrate, and he will be sure to get it.

Tilimsānī<sup>2</sup> gives a description of the uses of the third of these verses which is in keeping with al Būnī's. The verse says, "God is kind to His worshippers. He gives provision to whom He will, and He is the strong and mighty." It should be written at an auspicious time when a sign of the Zodiac with two bodies is in the ascendant. The writing should be on white silk and be perfumed with frankincense. One should then take ten grains of wheat and barley, and after reciting the verse 10,000 times over each grain, put them into the piece of silk and bury it in a field. This will cause extraordinary fertility in the field.

Certain suras have invocations attached to them. An example is the invocation of sura *al Kaḥf*. You must go to a pure, clean place, far from voices and movements, and set up for yourself a *miṣrāb* on the ground and spread soft sand under you. Then wash and put on white clothes, perfume yourself with the finest perfumes and purify yourself inside from forbidden food and everything concerning which there is doubt; then enter on a religious retreat, eating and drinking nothing which has life, or which comes from a living creature, for fourteen days. The retreat should be begun in a month whose first day is Friday. You should enter the seclusion after the Friday prayer, then perfume the place with sweet perfumes such as aloe wood, cardamom, benzoin and scent, and such as ambergris if possible. Recite sura *al Kaḥf* if possible once after each prayer and seven times in the middle of the night. As often as you recite the sura, release the perfumes till you complete the number which has been mentioned. When Thursday night comes, kneel and invoke a blessing on the prophet 1000 times, then recite sura *al Kaḥf* 40 times, praying between each two times two short *ruk'as* with the *Fātiḥa* and sura *al Iklās* three times, and invocation of blessing on the prophet ten times. When the recitation is finished, ask forgiveness from God, praise Him and say, "The enduring good works" (18. 44) 100 times. When morning comes, pray the morning prayer and praise God with all the praiseworthy attributes in the mighty Koran, and after praise make supplication to God and pray to Him with the pious invocations. When you finish your prayers, get up and walk, making mention of God, until you come outside the wall of the town. Then the servant of the noble sura will come towards you in the

<sup>1</sup> B, I, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> T, p. 27.



form of a beautiful, fragrant young man and will salute you. Return the salutation and act politely with him. He will then hand you a bag in which are 1000 dinars and will impose some conditions on you, including visiting the dead (i.e. graveyards) every Friday (and do not forget the poor and needy) and avoidance of immorality. Agree to what he asks and thank him. The servant will say to you, "O servant of God, if you recite it every month, you will be provided with 1000 dinars." Then dismiss him and say to him, "God reward your trouble, and may He forgive us and you! Depart rewarded with good." Now conceal your secret. God is all-knowing.<sup>1</sup>

Information is given regarding the use of every sura of the Koran, and of some verses in particular; but in what follows the subject is considered further from the point of view of the ends to be attained rather than of the verses to be used.

There are some interesting practices for healing. The following is a charm for ophthalmia. One writes the Throne Verse three times. This is followed by "God is the light of the heavens and the earth. His light is like a niche in which is a lamp in a glass. The glass is as though it were a gleaming star lit from a blessed tree, an olive neither of the east nor of the west, whose oil would almost give light though no fire touched it. Light upon light. God guides to His light whom He wills, and God makes parables for men; and God is omniscient" (24. 35). Then follows, "Say God is one (112. 1). In the eye is ophthalmia, red in whiteness. My sufficiency is the eternal God. O my Provider in afflictions. My sufficiency is the eternal God. 'He does not beget and he is not begotten, and He has no equal' (112. 2-4). I exorcise you, O inflamed ophthalmia which seizes the veins of the head and the skins. I exorcise you by Joseph son of Jacob and by his rent shirt (cf. 12. 25) and by the truth of the Torah of Moses, the Injil of Jesus and the Zabûr of David, by the truth of the noble Koran and by Moḥammad, the torch of existence and the torch of the Lord who is worshipped. Go away, O ophthalmia, from the bearer of this writing of mine, by the truth of "There is no god but God. Moḥammad is the apostle of God;" and by a million, "There is no power and no might except in God, the high, the mighty." And God bless our lord, Moḥammad, his family and his companions, and grant peace."<sup>2</sup>

An interesting method of removing fever is adopted in connection with sura *Yâ Sîn* (36). Recite it from beginning to end over a piece of string. When you come to the word *mubîn* (plain, manifest) tie a knot. As the word occurs seven times, you will tie seven knots. Then hang the string on the upper right arm of the patient and he will recover by God's permission.<sup>3</sup> Nawawî<sup>4</sup> says that the Imâm Mâlik disapproved of charms making use of knots, but Dairabî has no hesitation in giving this one.

One more cure may be mentioned. It deals with sprains, fractures and lassitude. One should use these words from sura *Yâ Sîn*, "He said, Who

<sup>1</sup> B, I, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> B, II, pp. 71, 72.

<sup>3</sup> D, p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. V, p. 38.

will quicken the bones when they are rotten? Say, He will quicken them who produced them at the first, and He knows every created thing" (36. 78, 79). These words should be recited forty times over sweet oil, then the oil should be applied to the affected part, when a cure will certainly result.<sup>1</sup>

A most elaborate performance is recommended in connection with suras 36 and 67 for the purpose of getting a request granted by God. The name *al Raḥmān* occurs four times in each of these suras, and the name *Allāh* three times. On this basis the exercise is formed. The first time you meet the word *al Raḥmān*, hold the little finger of the left hand; the second time, the ring-finger; and the third time, the middle finger. At the first recitation of *Allāh*, hold the little finger of the right hand; and at the second, the ring-finger. The fourth occurrence of *al Raḥmān* comes next, and you should now hold the forefinger of the left hand. Then on the third occurrence of *Allāh*, hold the middle finger of the right hand. You are now holding seven fingers. Then proceed to recite sura 67. When you come to *al Raḥmān*, let go the little finger of the left hand; on mentioning *Allāh* let go the little finger of the right hand; on the second mention of *al Raḥmān* let go the ring-finger of the left hand; and on the third, the middle finger. Then at the second occurrence of *Allāh*, let go the ring-finger of the right hand; and at the third, the middle finger. At the fourth occurrence of *al Raḥmān*, let go the forefinger of the left hand. When you finish the sura, pray two *rak'as*, invoke blessing on the prophet 100 times, express the intention of what you want God to do for you and ask Him to grant it. This will ensure an answer.<sup>2</sup>

Numerous charms are given for the purpose of destroying enemies. The *Bismillah* may be used thus. Draw a 25 compartment square on a piece of lead. In the first line write the four words of the *Bismillah* followed by the name of the person whose destruction is sought. The second line begins with the second word of the *Bismillah* and ends with the first. Each line is begun with the word following that with which the previous line began, until in the fifth line one begins with the man's name. The piece of lead containing the square should then be fumigated with assa-foetida and red garlic and buried near a fire which is always burning; but one must watch not to let the fire touch the lead. Then the man will perish and you will have to account for him before God.<sup>3</sup>

Another method is to take forty-one pebbles and dig a hole. Recite sura 36 over each pebble and throw it into the hole. When this is finished, pray the funeral prayer over them directed at the person whom you wish to destroy. Then pour dust into the hole, and the victim will perish quickly. This information is given on the authority of a reliable man who tested it and knew that it worked.<sup>4</sup> As those who employ such practices will be taken to account on the Day of Judgment, advice is given to be careful about using such charms, and sometimes one is exhorted to forgive an

<sup>1</sup> Y, p. 88.<sup>2</sup> D, pp. 17, 18.<sup>3</sup> B, I, p. 36.<sup>4</sup> D, pp. 19, 20.

enemy, sura 42. 38 being quoted, "Then he who forgives and does good, his reward is at God's charge."

There are numerous charms for getting into touch with celestial beings and for getting secret information. For example, the *Fātiḥa* is written with musk and saffron in a glass vessel and this is obliterated with rain-water which falls in the month of *Kānūn*, and *Iṣfahānī* collyrium is pounded with it. Then when a white cock's gall-bladder and a black hen's gall-bladder are added and the mixture is used as a salve, you will see celestial beings who will tell you things you do not know.<sup>1</sup>

It is also possible to get information about what people have been doing. If you want to know what your wife and children have been doing when you were from home, and they are keeping their doings secret, you should write out this verse, "O my son, if there were the weight of a grain of mustard seed and it were in a rock, or in the heavens, or in the earth, God would bring it. Verily God is the kind and well-informed One" (31. 15). Put it under your head on the night before the first Friday of Sha'bān, after praying both the obligatory and the supererogatory prayers; and when you put it there say, "Praise be to Him from whom nothing is hidden! Praise be to Him who has revealed what the secret thoughts of His creatures have concealed! Praise be to Him in whose hands are the hearts and the mouths by His command! O God, make clear to me such and such in my sleep." Then you will be informed in your sleep.<sup>2</sup>

If one suspects the presence of hidden treasure, one may find it by means of sura 42. 10-12, or 10-14. These verses should be written on fine cloth made from the wool of a white lamb whose throat has been cut, the cloth being dyed with chicory juice. Before writing one should put some Socotran aloes and saffron on it. It should then be folded and wrapped up in a piece of red wool and hung on the neck of a white cock. You should let the cock free at the first hour of Tuesday in the neighbourhood where you suspect the presence of treasure, and it will begin to peck and scratch with its feet. The cock should be let go in this manner three times; and if it goes to the same spot each time, you will find what you are looking for if you dig there.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately no guidance is given as to what one should do if it does not go to the same place every time.

Verses are recommended for use if one wishes to waken at a particular time during the night. 2. 119 may be used for this purpose. If you recite this verse when going to sleep, you will waken up at the time desired.<sup>4</sup> The last four verses of sura 18 may also be used for this purpose. You should recite them when going to sleep and say after them, "O God, by the truth of this noble verse, waken me at such and such a time, for my spirit is in Thy hand, and Thou takest the souls at the time of their death, and those who do not die, in their sleep (39. 43). O God, I remember Thee, so do Thou remember me. And I ask Thy forgiveness, so do Thou forgive me. Verily Thou doest what Thou chooseth and decidest what

<sup>1</sup> B, I, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Y, pp. 83, 84.

<sup>3</sup> Y, pp. 92, 93.

<sup>4</sup> Y, p. 26.

Thou wishest." Or you may say instead of this prayer, "I adjure you, O servants of these noble verses, that you waken me at such and such a time, by their right over you and their excellence with you. God bless you!" Then what you want will come to pass by God's permission.<sup>1</sup> Sura 3. 187-192 may be used if one wishes to get up at a particular time during the night for prayer.<sup>2</sup>

The names of God mentioned in the Koran are considered to have mighty effect, and great use is made of them. Although the discussion of this subject is here impossible it may be mentioned that the term "name" is used in a wider sense than we should employ it. It applies not only to the ninety-nine beautiful names, but also to the letters which appear at the beginning of some of the suras, and to phrases and verses which occur in the Koran. For example, the *Bismillah* is considered a name of God. Another example is a verse which occurs in sura *Yā Sīn*. As it took some trouble to find this verse, it may be interesting to indicate the process of discovery. I came across a reference to it first in *Yāfī*.<sup>3</sup> He says that in sura *Yā Sīn* there is a name which, if written out, obliterated and drunk on ninety-nine days by one who is in a state of ceremonial purity and is facing the *qibla* during the operation, will cause God to make him speak with wisdom and reveal to him the secrets of the worlds. He then says that it is in the middle of the sura, and that it consists of five words made up of sixteen letters, two of which are dotted above and two below. With the help of this guidance I searched through the sura, but did not find it. Then I came across a reference to it in *al Būnī*<sup>4</sup> and found there the additional information that the first letter was *sīn* and the last *mīm*. This helped me to find it, but the information that it is in the middle of the sura is unnecessarily misleading, for it is about three-quarters of the way through. It is, "Peace, a word from a compassionate Lord" (v. 58). *Dairabī*<sup>5</sup> also mentions virtues of this verse, but he quotes it in doing so and does not even call it a name of God. He says that if anyone recites it 1479 times, his requests will be granted. Written out five times and used as a charm, it is a protection from those who may attack one by night or day. If it is recited daily 28 times during a plague, it will keep one safe.

In the foregoing it has been possible to mention only a few of the objects for which the Koran is used, and to give a few examples of methods adopted. It should be said in conclusion that one must not imagine that all Muslims make such use of their Scriptures. If in earlier times even the educated believed in magical practices, this cannot be said of people at the present day who have profited from modern education. But the common people believe earnestly in the genuineness of charms, and the number of books which are published on the subject shows that there is a general demand for them. One has only to look through a bookseller's catalogue to see how popular this type of literature is.

<sup>1</sup> D, p. 36.<sup>2</sup> Y, p. 49.<sup>3</sup> Y, p. 86.<sup>4</sup> B, I, pp. 40, 41.<sup>5</sup> D, p. 19.

## BABYLONIAN PRIVATE RITUALS

BY THE REV. C. J. MULLO WHIR, B.D., D.Phil.

THE numerous known fragments of these rituals are mostly preserved in an Assyrian form, dating from the seventh century B.C. In this form they were grouped into series with distinguishing names. The tablets of each series were systematically arranged and consecutively numbered and catalogues of the series were made. The place of a tablet in its series was often indicated upon the tablet itself.

Rituals of this character are distinct from temple liturgies and other public rituals. They were conducted in private houses and elsewhere by a layman, associated with one or more incantation priests or exorcists. The recitation of prayers and incantations was accompanied by the performance of appropriate ceremonies. The language used is sometimes Sumerian but usually Accadian. The Assyrian rituals were no doubt derived from much earlier Babylonian originals.

For purposes of description, a classification into three groups is here presented: (1) healing rituals; (2) royal rituals; (3) other rituals for obtaining prosperity and success and averting evil.

(1) The purpose of the first group is the cure of all manner of disease. Headache, toothache, diseases of the eye, liver, digestive organs, etc., etc., are specified, each with a special ritual of its own. More than one ritual appears to have been in use for the cure of the same disease and one single ritual may include mention of several diseases together. In an early period diseases are attributed to the activity of malicious goblins or jinn. One Sumerian series consisted of seventeen or more tablets against evil spirits; another of thirteen or more was aimed at the fever demon. Some spirits have names, as Lamashtu and Lilitu (Hebrew *lilith*) and Lilu. A later Semitic series of eight tablets, named *maglu* (burning) treats of disease as caused by witchcraft. Later still, a bi-lingual series called *shurpu* (also = burning), in nine tablets, combats diseases caused by the infringement of some tabu. In the latest period disease is attributed to sin, and beautiful prayers, accompanied by sacrifice, were recited for its cure. Most of these prayers are designated *nish qati* (the lifting of the hand).

Detailed prescriptions for the medical treatment of disease were in use alongside of these healing rituals. Such medical texts, as they are called, were also classified in series, according to the diseases treated of in them. Incantations play only a small part in medical texts.

(2) This group seems to have been reserved for the use of the king. A numerous series in the group is entitled "the house of washing", because used in conjunction with a ceremony of washing, by the king, in a ritual hut outside the city wall. Two other series of this group are entitled "the house of the sprinkling of water" and "the house of binding." When the moon was eclipsed on certain days, the king performed expiatory

ceremonies. Other rituals of a national character were entitled "mouth washing" (of a divine statue) and "hand washing" (of a god). A ritual called "the brick god" was used when the foundation stone of a temple was laid. The great royal rituals are generally bi-lingual.

(3) Most rituals of this group were collected into one great series called *namburbi* ("loosening" of portents and evils). It contained at least 135 tablets and probably many more. Its rituals sought to secure a safe journey, victory in battle, a successful visit to court, good luck in building houses, in digging canals, in cleansing stables, etc. Others were intended for times of flood, earthquake or locust plague, to pacify an angry man, restore conjugal love, banish ghosts and bad dreams or bring prosperity to a tavern. Rituals of this group are usually written in Accadian.

In the course of the paper, as read, it was shown how the rituals are classified and placed by scholars in the series to which they belong. A treatment of the expiation rituals will be found in: M. Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, vol. I, chh. 16-17 (1905-12); J. Morgenstern, *Doctrine of sin in Babylonian Religion* (MVG, 1905); W. Schrank, *Babylonische Sühnriten* (LSS, III, 1908); B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, vol. II, ch. 17 (1920-25).

2nd October, 1933

Eighteen members and two visitors attended this meeting. The three papers summarised below were read, and some recent books were displayed and commented upon.

## CUNEIFORM RECORDS AND GENESIS XIV

BY THE REV. NAHUM LEVISON, B.D.

IN this paper it was shown that the identifications of Amraphel (of Shinar) with Hammurabi (of Babylon), of Arioch (of Ellasar) with Areaku = Warad Sin (of Larsa) and of Tidal (of Goiim) with a hypothetical Tidal of Gutium, are inconsistent with one another, because: (1) both Larsa and Gutium had lost their independence before Hammurabi's time; (2) Warad Sin was dead thirty years before Hammurabi's accession; (3) in Genesis 14. 4f. the king of Elam is the chief invader, and, therefore, superior to Amraphel, which would be impossible if Hammurabi were Amraphel.

It was then argued that the key to the date of the events in Genesis xiv. lies in the representation that the Elamite king Chedorlaomer was overlord of Southern Palestine and that the expedition of the allied kings was for the purpose of restoring his authority (Genesis 14. 4f.). An in-

scription of Kudur-mabug of Elam (date c. 2196 B.C.—Smith, *Transactions of Society for Biblical Archaeology* I, 43) refers to him as “*adda* (? = father or overlord) of Martu (the west-land or sea-land = Amurru).” The inscription may reasonably be held to prove an overlordship of Elam in Southern Palestine in the reign of this king. If so Chedorlaomer, whose name is recognisably Elamite (= Kudur-lagamar), may be identified with Kudur-mabug himself. Two reasons were given for this identification: (1) that the date of Kudur-mabug agrees closely with what may be reckoned to be the time of Abraham; (2) that the son of Kudur-mabug, Areaku (= Warad Sin) king of Larsa, then supplies an easy equivalent for Arioch of Ellasar. This leaves Amraphel of Shinar and Tidal of Goiim still unidentified. The suggestion that Tid’al is a Hittite name (= Tudkhalia or Dudkhalia) was rejected on the ground that none of the three Hittite kings of that name belonged to the period fixed by the dates of Kudur-mabug, Warad Sin and Abraham.

In the second half of the paper comments were made on the place names of the narrative and on the route followed by the invading kings. It was noted that the attack of the invaders commenced at Ashteroth Karnaim (twenty miles east of the Sea of Galilee) and proceeded southwards to the Gulf of Akabah (Genesis 14. 6), after which it turned northwards against the tribes who lived on the fringes of the desert (Genesis 14. 7) and finally advanced from Engedi (= Hazazontamar, cf. 2 Chron. 20. 2) against the confederate tribes of the Dead Sea district, who were thus driven into the worst possible position for them, a region studded with bitumen wells. It was argued that if the invaders had followed a direct route towards the towns lying to the south of the Dead Sea, their attack would have been frustrated by the retreat of the inhabitants into the open desert and by the difficulty of obtaining food supplies in the country traversed.

## NOTES ON THE SYNTAX OF THE HEBREW CONSTRUCT

BY MR. R. B. PATTIE, B.D.

1. It is recognised by Hebrew grammarians that there is “nothing unusual” in the dependence of several genitives upon one and the same construct. Examples are: “a land of wheat and barley and vines and figs and pomegranates” (Deut. 8. 8), “the sons of Jacob and Joseph” (Psalm 77. 15), “the blood of bulls and lambs and he-goats” (Isai. 1. 11). But it has been erroneously supposed that phrases like “the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride” (Jer. 7. 34), with repetition of the construct before each genitive, exemplify the more common Hebrew usage. In fact both idioms occur in almost equal proportions, slightly above 300 times each. In Psalms, Esther and Isaiah the use of one construct with

several dependent genitives is more common than the supposed normal construction with a repeated construct.

Recognition of these facts helps us to a correct interpretation of passages otherwise obscure, e.g. in Exod. 27. 11 the correct translation is: "the hooks of the pillars and of the cross-boards were of silver." It also explains the syntax of such verses as Isai. 28. 1 ("proud garland of the drunkards of Ephraim"), Isai. 28. 16 ("a precious foundation-stone, firmly placed"), Lev. 25. 29 ("a dwelling-house in a walled city"). In all these phrases the first construct in Hebrew governs both the immediately following genitive and the next after that (i.e. both the second and the third words of the Hebrew phrase).

2. The only quite certain instances of two constructs qualified by one and the same genitive are those in which the constructs are words in apposition to one another, e.g. "a woman possessor of a familiar spirit" (1 Sam. 28. 7). Examples of this character may, however, be more numerous than is commonly recognised, e.g. "God the rock of my salvation" (2 Sam. 22. 47). There is no clear case of two constructs connected by "and" being qualified by one and the same dependent genitive.

## THE CONGRESS OF ARABIAN MUSIC

*Cairo, 1932*

BY H. G. FARMER, Esq., Ph.D.

EGYPT which may claim to be the leader of Islamic culture to-day, inaugurated a Congress of Arabian Music at Cairo in 1932. It was held under the auspices of its Ministry of Education and the direct patronage of King Fu'ād who is ardently interested in music.

Musicians and specialists from many lands were invited by the Egyptian Government to take part in this congress with a view to insure "the organisation and development of Arabian music." France sent nine delegates, foremost among whom were the veteran Arabist Baron Carra de Vaux, MM. Rabaud and Chantavoine, the Director and Chief Secretary respectively of the Paris Conservatoire of Music, two savants from the Phonetic Institute of the Sorbonne, and two officials from the Bureau of Moroccan National Arts at Rabat. Germany sent six representatives. Three of these, Professors Johannes Wolf, E. von Hornbostel and Curt Sachs of the University of Berlin, are well known for their writings on music. Two others were Professor Heinitz of the University of Hamburg and the eminent composer Hindemith. Lastly, there was Dr. Lachmann of the Berlin State Library, who is both a musician and Arabist. Austria was represented by Professor E. Wellesz of the University of Vienna and



an authority on Byzantine music. Hungary sent its famous composer Bartok of the Academy of Music at Budapest, whilst Czechoslovakia was represented by the composer Alois Haba of the Prague Conservatoire of Music. Italy sent two delegates, Professor Zampieri of the Milan Conservatoire of Music, and Colonel Pesenti. Syria gave the Rev. Professor Collangettes of the University of Beyrout, and Wadī' Sabrā, the Director of the National Conservatoire of Music. Turkey furnished two specialists, Ra'ūf Yektā Bey, a co-Director of the Conservatoire of Music at Constantinople, and Mas'ūd Jamīl Bey, the famous performer on the pandore (*ṣanbūr*). From Tunisia came Sīdī Ḥasan 'Abd al-Wahhāb, the Governor of Mahdia, whilst Morocco gave Sīdī Qaddūr b. Ghabrīt, the Minister Plenipotentiary of the Sharif of Morocco, his brother Muḥammad, and Muḥammad b. 'Abdallah of Tlemcen.

Besides these there were some thirty of the most noted Egyptian musicians and savants. Among these were Muṣṭafā Rīdā Bey, the Director of the Institute of Oriental Music in Cairo; Maḥmūd al-Ḥafnī Eff., the Director of Musical Studies at the Ministry of Education; Signor Cantoni, the Conductor of the Opera House; Aḥmad Shauqī Bey, the celebrated poet, well-known writers on the theory of music such as Aḥmad Amin al-Dīk Eff., Kāmil al-Khulā'i Eff., as well as famous instrumentalists such as the violinist Sāmī Shawā Eff. and the lutanist Manṣūr 'Awaḍ Eff. Then there were distinguished amateurs such as Muḥammad Zakī 'Alī Bey, Muḥammad Faṭḥī Eff., Najīb Naḥās Eff., and Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥajjāj Eff.

The Congress was opened by H. E. Muḥammad Ḥilmī 'Isā Pāshā at the Institute of Oriental Music, a magnificent building in the Shāri' Mālaka Nazlī. Seven separate commissions were formed, each of which comprised a President, Secretary and about twelve members, all of whom were nominated by the Ministry of Education. These commissions sat for a fortnight with a definite programme before them. The recommendations of these commissions were then presented to a plenary congress which sat for a week. The seven commissions were:

1. *The Commission of General Questions.*—Baron Carra de Vaux was the President. It dealt with questions that did not come within the scope of the other commissions. I was a member of this commission.

2. *The Commission of Modes (maqāmāt), Rhythms (iqdāt) and Composition (ta'rif).*—Ra'ūf Yektā Bey was the President. Its work was to analyse and classify the modes, rhythms and compositions used in Egypt and in other Islamic lands.

3. *The Commission of the Musical Scale.*—Its President was the Rev. Professor Collangettes. Its duty was to inquire into the basis of the quarter-tone scale used in Egypt and the Islamic East in general with a view to adopting an equal tempered scale. I was a member.

4. *The Commission of Musical Instruments.*—Professor Curt Sachs was the President. Its programme included the listing of the instruments used to-day in Egypt, with recommendations as to improved construction.

It was also desired to consider which instruments of Europe could be introduced into Arabian music. I was a member.

5. *The Commission of Registration*.—Dr. Robert Lachmann was the President. Here, the finest bands and musicians from 'Irāq, Syria, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria and Turkey, as well as from Egypt performed, and their best work was selected for preservation by means of gramophone recording, the latter being done by H.M.V.

6. *The Commission of Musical Education*.—This was presided over by Dr. Maḥmūd al-Ḥafnī. Its business was to discuss methods of education in music.

7. *The Commission of History and Manuscripts*.—Over this I had the honour of presiding. My secretary was Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥajjāj Eff., the author of a short survey of Arabian music entitled *Al-Mūsīqā al-sharqiya* (1924), and other works. Among the members of this commission were Baron Carra de Vaux, the author of *Le traité des rapports musicaux . . . par Saḥī ed-Dīn 'Abd el-Mumin Albaghḍādī* (1891), Baron Rodolphe D'Erlanger, the author of *La musique arabe . . . Al-Fārābī* (1930), Sīdī Ḥasan 'Abd al-Wahhāb, the Governor of Mahdia and the author of a brochure on Arabian music, *Le développement de la musique arabe en oriente, Espagne et Tunisie* (1918). Dr. Robert Lachmann of the Berlin State Library and author of *Musik des Orients* (1929); Dr. Johannes Wolf, the Professor of the History of Music at the University of Berlin and the author of the *Handbuch der Notationskunde* (1913) and other works; Professor Egon Wellesz of the University of Vienna and author of several works on Byzantine music; Professor G. Zampieri of the University of Pavia and the Conservatoire of Music at Milan; Colonel Gustavo Pesenti, the author of *Canti sacri e profani danzi e ritmi degli arabi dei Somali e dei Swahili* (1929), and Señor Adolfo Salazar of Madrid. The questions which we had to deal with were as follows:

(a) To make a list of Occidental and Oriental books which treat of Arabian music.

(b) What are the best means for encouraging works in Arabic for the scientific study of the various periods of the history of Arabian music?

(c) To prepare a report comprising the history of the Arabian musical scale.

(d) To draw up a list of the most important Arabic manuscripts which treat of music, showing those that have been published, and those which have been translated into another language with notes or explanations therein.

(e) What are the manuscripts which have not been published and by what means can they be published?

(f) How far can the country profit by the publication of these manuscripts?

Neither Baron D'Erlanger nor Dr. Lachmann was able to take part

in the work of this commission. The result was that with the exception of Baron Carra de Vaux and the two Arab savants, none of the other commissioners were competent to deal with the technical Arabic side of the questions to be discussed. The upshot was that practically everything was thrown on my shoulders and almost every section of the report was drawn up by me. Indeed, the report on the history of the Arabian music scale, comprising about twenty folios, was compiled entirely by me.

After a fortnight's work, the sittings of the plenary congress began. At the close of the congress I was one of the three delegates chosen to deliver valedictory addresses, the other two being Baron Carra de Vaux and Sidi Hasan 'Abd al-Wahhāb, the addresses being delivered in English, French and Arabic respectively. After the closing ceremony, the seven presidents of the commissions were taken to the palace, where we had audience with H.M. King Fu'ād. In the evening we were entertained at the Opera House to a grand musical and dramatic entertainment, the only other people present being H.M. the King, his household, the Premier and Cabinet, and the entire Diplomatic Corps.

## BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

*The Letters Yôdh, Tâw, Qôph, Qôph.*<sup>1</sup>—These letters are marked with the sign of abbreviation and preceded by the consonants of the whole or part of the last verse but one. They are the initials of יצחק (Isaiah), יצחק יר (["book of] the Twelve [Prophets]), יחזקאל (Ezekiel) and יחזקאל (Lamentations), and serve as a reminder (זכרון) that the second last verse must be repeated after the closing verse. The purpose is to avoid ending with a verse containing a threat of punishment, or a prediction of calamity.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

*Kittel's Biblia Hebraica.*<sup>2</sup>—Attention was called to the most striking innovation, viz. the introduction of the Masorah Parva on the outside margin of the pages, and mention was made of certain aids to the reading and interpretation of these novel entries. Such are two articles by M. H. Hyvernat in the *Revue Biblique*, 1902 and 1903, followed by a brief "Masoretic lexicon" in 1904-5; Leusden's *Jonas Illustratus*, which gives the Masorah Parva and Magna to that book with translations and explanations; and the classic on the subject, Buxtorf's *Tiberias*. For more profound study of the subject the works of Frensdorff and Ginsburg are indispensable.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 23.

*Zechariah* 8. 16-19.<sup>1</sup>—This passage has been displaced from its original position after 7. 1-6. It gives to the question of 7. 3 an answer which is wholly wanting in the present text of ch. 7. As is usual in such cases, the verses were accidentally omitted by a copyist, were placed by him on the margin of his MS. when he discovered his mistake, and then were put back by a second copyist into the text at the erroneous point where they now stand. The original omission, in this case, was due to *homoioteleuton*. The eye of the scribe passed from *אֵלֹהֵי דִּמְיוֹנָם* (8. 16) over six lines to *אֵלֹהֵי דִּמְיוֹנָם* <sup>2</sup> (יהא), which thus became a continuation of 7. 6. Probably the words of 8. 18 should be entirely omitted, as being an expansion of the introductory words of verse 19.

W. B. STEVENSON.

*Jeremiah* 25. 10.<sup>2</sup>—In the Talmud (Sanhedrin, fol. 32) we read, "the sound of a mill in Burni (means) a circumcision, the light of a lamp in Beror Hayil (means) a festival." Rashi explains that during the time of the (Roman) prohibition of circumcision, the sound of the mill which ground the (medical) spices used for the healing of a circumcised child's wound served to announce a circumcision ceremony. The lighting of lamps was also, it is said, made to serve a similar purpose. Tosaphoth, on the passage quoted, notes that in *Jeremiah* 25. 10 the words "the sound of a mill and the light of a lamp" may therefore be interpreted to signify the signs of a joyous occasion.

NATHAN MORRIS.

*Isaiah* 30. 1-8.<sup>4</sup>—Usually *Isaiah* 30. 1-8 are treated as consisting of three parts, 1-5, 6-7 and 8 (beginning a new section). So Cheyne, Duhm, Marti and Box. Verses 6-7 as they stand in M.T. are a paragon of obscurity and incompleteness. Yet three comparatively simple emendations of these verses <sup>5</sup> make 30. 1-8 a continuous passage, in which vv. 6-7 are a description of the journey of the Jewish envoys through the desert to Egypt. Since vv. 4-5 describe the arrival of the envoys in Egypt, they should probably be placed between 7a and 7b. The connection so established is shown by the following translation:

v. 6. The beasts of the Negeb are carrying, through a land of trouble and stress,

Lioness and lion are there, viper and flying serpent,

Their wealth upon asses' backs, their treasure on the humps of camels,

To a people who will not profit,<sup>6</sup> who give help that is empty and vain.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> To be read so with LXX.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> In ver. 6 for *שָׁמַיִם* read *שָׁמַיִם*, which has been preserved at the beginning of the third line of the verse. Read also *שָׁמַיִם* for *שָׁמַיִם* as LXX (similarly Ehrlich). In ver. 7 for *שָׁמַיִם* read *שָׁמַיִם* (simple transposition of letters).

<sup>6</sup> Om. Egypt, as a (correct) gloss. So most modern scholars.

- v. 4. Officers <sup>1</sup> have arrived at Soan, messengers <sup>1</sup> are approaching Hanes.  
 v. 5.<sup>2</sup> Not to receive help or profit, but only disappointment and reproach.  
 v. 7b. Therefore I name <sup>3</sup> her—Arrogance that causes disappointment.  
 v. 8. Enter, write it on a tablet, inscribe it in a book beside you,<sup>4</sup>  
 Let it remain for a future day, as a witness <sup>5</sup> that will endure.

W. B. STEVENSON.

*Mohenjo-daro.*<sup>6</sup>—Among the articles discovered are numerous spindle-whorls, showing by the variety of materials that spinning was practised by rich and poor; weights; toys, such as rattles, whistles, clay models of men, women, animals (some with movable heads), birds, carts and household articles; games, such as marbles and dice. The weights are more accurate and consistent than those found in Elam and Mesopotamia. The sequence of ratios appears to be at first binary, but afterwards decimal, viz. 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 160, 200, 320, 640, 1600. The toy carts are among the earliest known wheeled vehicles and are approximately contemporary with a chariot depicted on a stone slab at Ur (c. 3200 B.C.). They closely resemble the farm carts used in Sind at the present day.

The figure of a male god who is recognisable as the prototype of Siva has also been found. He is three-faced and is seated in the attitude of *Yoga*, or contemplation of the Supreme Spirit. (Siva is the typical Yogi.) His head is crowned with horns; an elephant and a tiger stand on his right; a rhinoceros and a buffalo on his left; and two deer stand below his throne.

Reference was also made to phallic emblems (characteristic of the worship in India of Siva), baetylic stones, and ring stones, probably to be regarded as *yonis*, or female organs of generation. It thus appears that the religion of that remote period in Sind is hardly to be distinguished from that aspect of modern Hinduism, which is bound up with the worship of Siva and the mother goddess. Shaivism comes to light as the most ancient of the living faiths of the world.

R. B. DOUGLAS.

*Censorship of Jewish Books.*—The difficult word at the end of the censor's note in the Glasgow University Library copy of Adelkind's Bible (*Transactions*, vol. V, p. 51) may be read *l'abiastema* (= *la bestemmia*). Vittorio Eliano was, accordingly, one of the three delegated supervisors of the publication of books in Venice in 1548 [see Horatio F. Brown, *Venetian Printing Press* (1891), p. 78].

W. B. STEVENSON.

<sup>1</sup> As LXX (Marti).

<sup>2</sup> Om. ver. 5a; cf. the last words of ver. 6.

<sup>3</sup> LXX imperative.

<sup>4</sup> M.T. "beside them."

<sup>5</sup> So Targ. Syr. Vulg. and most modern scholars.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 41.

## APPENDIX I

### THOMAS HUNTER WEIR MEMORIAL PRIZE<sup>1</sup>

*Regulations approved by the University Court and incorporated in the Minutes of 7th October, 1930.*

1. The Prize shall be awarded biennially for original work in the field of Arabic studies.
2. Persons holding certificates of attendance on an Ordinary or Honours Arabic Class in the University shall be eligible to compete, provided that not more than ten years have elapsed since the date of their last certificate.
3. The work submitted by candidates, on a subject chosen by themselves, may be either published or unpublished, and must be given in to the Clerk of Senate by the date fixed for receiving Prize Essay compositions. It need not be submitted anonymously.
4. The adjudicators of the award shall be the Professor of Semitic Languages and the Lecturer in Arabic.
5. The Prize may not be awarded more than once to the same person.
6. When the Prize has been open to competition in any year and has not been awarded, it may be offered again in the following year. In such cases the reckoning of the biennial period shall start afresh from the date of the actual award.

## APPENDIX II

### MEMORIAL MINUTE ON THE REV. F. A. STEUART, B.D.

*Adopted in Memory of Mr. Steuart at the Meeting held on 30th March, 1931.*

The Society desires to place on record its sense of the great loss it has sustained through the sudden death of the Rev. Frederick A. Steuart, B.D., on 2nd November, 1930.

Mr. Steuart was a man of many gifts. After graduating B.A. with First Class Honours in Classics in the University of London he studied Divinity at the University of Glasgow, where, among other distinctions, he gained the Black Theological Fellowship. Thereafter he continued his studies at Berlin and Heidelberg. As a minister he faithfully devoted himself to the well-being of his people, and at the same time was able to render valuable service to education in Renfrewshire and to the General Council of the University of Glasgow.

Mr. Steuart became a Member of the Oriental Society in October, 1923, and was appointed Recording Secretary in October, 1925, in which capacity his

<sup>1</sup> See p. 22.

constant enthusiasm and zeal did much to stimulate the proceedings of the Society. Especially by the preparation of Vol. V of the *Transactions* just before his lamented death he has made a permanent and valuable contribution to the work of the Society.

In recording its sorrow at the untimely death of Mr. Steuart, the Society at the same time desires to express its deepest sympathy with Mrs. Steuart in her great loss.

## APPENDIX III

## MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF THE SOCIETY

1929-1933

MEMBER'S NAME.	YEAR OF ELECTION.
Robert B. Pattie, B.D.	1880
A. R. S. Kennedy, D.D., LL.D.	1881
<sup>1</sup> Morison Bryce,	1884
Hugh Duncan, B.D.	"
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## DEATHS, RESIGNATIONS, ETC., OF MEMBERS

1929-1933

During the period 1929-1933 the following members were removed:

*By death*—Morison Bryce and A. R. McKenzie, M.A., in 1929; F. A. Steuart, B.D., W. S. Brownlee, B.D., and D. H. Brodie, B.D., in 1930; Colin Campbell, D.D., and James Gilroy, D.D., in 1931; G. Baldwin Brown, LL.D., and Wm. Ewing, D.D., in 1932; A. H. Sayce, D.Litt., LL.D., D.D., and J. E. McFadyen, D.D., in 1933. In addition the name of A. Cameron Watson, B.D., who died in 1924, should be mentioned, as it was omitted from Vol. V.

*By resignation*—William Deans in 1930; Robert Aitken, B.D., in 1931; J. W. Murray, B.A., in 1932.

*Also*—D. H. Gillan, B.D., in 1930.

## OFFICE-BEARERS AND COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT

1933

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*President.* THE REV. PROFESSOR W. B. STEVENSON, D.Litt., D.D.

*Vice-President.* MR. R. B. PATTIE, B.D.

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Together with

Drs. BUCHANAN and FARMER, and MESSRS. DUNCAN, GORDON, and McKECHNIE.

## APPENDIX IV

## EXTRACTS FROM CONSTITUTION AND BYE-LAWS

"The Object of the Society shall be the Study of the Languages, Literature, and Histories of the East."

"The Stated Meetings of the Society shall be held in Glasgow twice a year." (The present dates of Meeting are the last Tuesday of March and the first Monday of October.)

"The Society shall be composed of such Students of Oriental Languages as shall be duly elected."

"The Society may elect as Corresponding Members such persons permanently resident abroad" (now interpreted to mean "furth of Scotland") "as may be willing to contribute to the proceedings of the Society."

"Names of persons proposed for election shall be submitted to the Committee of Management at least two months before the ensuing Stated Meeting of the Society, and such names shall be inserted in the programme of business for that Meeting."

"Each Ordinary Member shall pay an Annual Subscription, the amount of which shall be fixed from time to time by the Committee of Management." (The amount at present is five shillings.) Corresponding Members are asked to pay an Annual Subscription of two shillings and sixpence.

## GENERAL INDEX

- Aaron ben Asher, 22.  
 'Abdurrazzâq, 7.  
 Abraham, 63.  
 Adrianople, 10.  
 Agni, 43.  
 Akabah, Gulf of, 63.  
 Alein, 45.  
 Alexandria, 46.  
 Alphabet: A. H. Gardiner on origin of, 24; Indus Valley script, 42 f.; script of Ras Shamra tablets, 44 f.; "Phœnician Alphabet", 45.  
 Amraphel, 62 f.  
 'Anât, 45.  
 Ānegundi, 7.  
 Animal-worship, 43 f.  
 Arabian Music, Congress of, 64 ff.; delegates, 64 f.; commissions, 65 ff.  
 Areaku, 62 f.  
 Arioch, 62 f.  
 Artillery, Turkish at Siege of Constantinople, 9 ff.  
 Ashanti weights, 45 f.  
 Ashteroth Karnaim, 63.  
 Ātman-Brahman, 2.  
 Ba'al, 45.  
 Ba'alat, 45.  
 Bætis, 37.  
 Baisân, 3; Rowe on excavations, 24; Canaanite temples at, 24.  
 Barbaro the Venetian, 12.  
 Belvoir Castle, 3.  
 Bhagavad Gītâ, 3.  
*Bhakti*, 2 f.  
*Bhakti-mārya*, 3.  
 Bible, Rabbinical, 69.  
*Biblia Hebraica*, Kittel, 23, 67.  
 Bijāpūr, 7.  
 Brahm, 1.  
 Brahman, 2 f.  
 Brahmana, 3.  
 Browning, Robert; Semitic elements in poetry of, 51.  
 Buddha, 2.  
 Byron, 14.  
 Cádiz, The Idol of, 37 ff.; references to, 37 f.; location, 39; purpose, 39 f.; built by Phœnicians, 40; a Pillar of Hercules, 40.  
 Cæpto, 37, 40.  
 Carthaginians, 40.  
 Cassiterides, 40.  
 Censorship of Hebrew Bibles, 69.  
 Charms, lawful, 52; for illness, 52, 54 f., 57 f., 61; against devils, etc., 52, 54 f., 61; against witchcraft, 53, 61; knots used, 53, 57; for protection, 53 ff., 60; for success, 54 ff., 62; to delay death, 55; to destroy enemies, 58 f.; for learning secrets, 59 f.; for hidden treasure, 59; for wakening at night, 59 f.  
 Chedorlaomer, 62 f.  
 Chiensia, Leonardus, 10.  
 Confucius, 2.  
 Constantinople: Turkish artillery at siege of, 9 ff.; walls of, 9 ff.; Crooked Gate, 9, 12; St. Roman's Gate, 9, 11 ff.  
 Conti, Nicolo, 7 f.  
 D'Albini, Ralph, 3.  
 Daniel, original of, 45.  
 D'Aubigné, 3.  
 Dead Sea, 63.  
 Deccan, 7.  
 Delhi, 7.  
 Dongola, Old, 46.  
 Druses, 51.  
 Dudkhalla, 63.  
 Ebura, 37.  
 Egri kapı, Gate of Constantinople, 9, 12.  
 El, 45.  
 Elam, 20, 62 f., 69.  
 Elat, 45.  
 Ellasar, 62 f.  
 Engedi, 63.  
 Fu'âd, King, 64, 67.

- Gades, 37.  
 Galata, 9, 13.  
 Gerasa, excavations at, 24.  
 Geron, tower of, 37, 40.  
 Gibb, E. J. W., 24 ff.; birth, 24; death, 24, 28; parents, 24; *History of Ottoman Poetry*, 24; ancestry, 25; education, 25; literary work and friendships, 25 ff.; *Aucassin et Nicolette*, 28; marriage, 27; tributes to, 28; specimen translations, 28 f.; MSS. in Glasgow University Library, 29.  
 Gibb Memorial Trust, 24.  
 Gibbon, 10.  
 Goethe, 14 f.  
 Golden Horn, 9, 13.  
 Gordon College, Khartum, 46.  
 Guadalquivir, 37, 39 f.  
 Gulbarga, 7.  
 Guns, Turkish, 9 ff.; of Mont S. Michel, 10; Mons Meg, 10; Dulle Griete, 10; Basiliske, 10 ff.; in Rotunda Museum, 13; gun captured at Aden, 14.  
 Gutium, 62.  
 Hammurabi, 62.  
 Harappa, 42 ff.  
 Harihara, 7.  
 Hazazontamar, 63.  
 Hebrew, vowel signs, 22 f.; syntax of construct, 63 f.; Bible, 69.  
 Heine, 14 f.  
 Herakles, 40.  
 Hinduism, philosophy of, 2; popular, 2; origins of, 41, 43 f.; 69.  
 Hunterian Museum; rubbings of Nestorian inscription, vi, 1; Ashanti weights in, 45 f.; Jericho pottery in, 47 ff.  
 Indra, 43.  
 Indus Valley civilization, 41 ff., 69.  
 Interjected Speech: in English and German, 14 f.; in Koran, 15-18; in Isaiah, 18-21; Fr. Ed. König on, 21; D. B. Macdonald on, 21 n.  
 Ismā'il 'Adil Shah, 7.  
 Jacob ben Chaiyim, 22.  
 Jericho: Garstang on, 24; pottery in Hunterian Museum, 47 ff.  
 Jerusalem: "third wall", 24; town-planning in, 47.  
 Jewish facial types, 24.  
*Jñāna-mārga*, 3.  
 Jubilee Celebrations, v, viii, 22.  
 Kabir, Indian poet, 2.  
 Karaja Bey, 10.  
 Kaukab al Hawā, 3.  
 Khartum, 46.  
 Kistna, 7 f.  
 Kollur, 8.  
 Koran, interjected speech in, 15 ff.; passages displaced, 18; magical use of, 51 ff.; relative values of suras, 53.  
 Krishna, 3.  
 Krishna Dēvarāya, 7 f.  
 Kritobulos, 10 f.  
 Kudur-mabug, 63.  
 Lamashtu, 61.  
 Laoze, 2.  
 Larsa, 62 f.  
 Latakiya, 44.  
 Lilitu (Hebrew *lilit*), 61.  
 Lulu, 61.  
 Literary usage, a neglected, 14 ff.  
 Lux Dubia, 37, 39.  
 Magic, Koran used in, 51-60.  
 Mahānavami festival, 8.  
 Martu, 63.  
 Masorah, history and sources of Jewish, 22 f.; Paul Kahle's discoveries, 22; Masorah Parva printed by Kittel, 67.  
 Melkarth, 40.  
 Mohammad Tughlak, 7.  
 Mohenjo-daro: city civilisation, 41; buildings, 41 f.; objects discovered, 42, 69; period, 42; script, 42 f.; religion, 43 f., 69; weights, 69.  
*Moksha*, 2.  
 Moses ben Naphtali, 22.  
 Mōt, 45.  
 Mother goddess in India, 43 f.  
 Muhammad ibn Hamza, 14.  
 Muhammad Khān ibn Murād, 13.  
*Mukti*, 2.  
 Munir 'Alī, 13.  
 Music, ancient Egyptian instruments of, 30 ff.; pulsatile, 31 f.; wind, 32 f.; stringed, 33 f.; Congress of Arabian, see Arabian music.  
 Mysticism, eastern, 1 f.  
 Nābī, 27 f.  
 Nānāk, 2.  
 Narasimha, 7.  
 Neaīmi, 27.  
 Nirvana, 2.  
 Ophel, excavations on, 23 f.

Pace, 8.

Palestine: remains of palaeolithic man in, 23; racial elements in, 34 f.; Turkish rule in, 35; Balfour declaration, 35; land purchased by Jews, 35 f.; strife of parties, 36; bright prospects, 36; town-planning, 46 f.; development of pottery in, 47 ff.

P. E. F., Q. S. (1925-30), 23 f.

Persephonê, 45.

Persia, mysticism in, 1 f.

Philistines, absorbed by Hebrews, 24.

Phoenicians, 40, 44 f.; script found at Ras Shamra, 44 f.

Phranzia, 10.

Pillars of Hercules, 37 f., 40.

Portuguese traders in India, 7 f.

Pottery: at Mohenjo-daro, 41 ff.; at Jericho, 47 ff.

President, semi-jubilee of, v f., 50 f.

Proverbs, psychological terms of Book of, 22.

Qāsim Pāshā Bay, 9, 13.

Rabbinical Bible in Glasgow University Library, 60.

Rābi'a of Basra, 2.

Raichur, 7.

Rāmānuja, 2 f.

Ras Shamra, discoveries at, 44 ff.

Rhodes, siege of, 13.

Rig Veda, 1, 43.

Rituals, Babylonian private, 61 f.

Rotunda Museum, gun in, 13.

Rudra, 43.

Rūmēll Hisar, 9.

Salmedina, island, 37.

Salvation, Christian and Hindu doctrines of, 2 f.

San Lúcar de Barrameda, 37, 39 f.

Scipio, 37, 40.

Scott, Sir Walter, 14 f.

Soutari, siege of, 11, 13.

Semendria, 10.

Shankara, 2.

Shinar, 62 f.

Sikh religion, 2.

Sinai-Horeb, identified with Tadra, 24.

Siva, 43 f., 69.

Spens, Sir Patriok, 14.

Stone-worship, 43 f.

Subartu, 44.

Sulaimān ibn Selīm Khān, 14.

Sultan Veled, 27.

Tabernacle, Is it copy of Temple? 4 ff.

Tabu, 61.

Talikota, 7.

Tammuz, 45.

Temple, Is it copy of Tabernacle? 4 ff.; Ezekiel's, 4; Solomon's, 4; Herod's, 4.

Theron, 37, 40.

Thomas the Rhymer, 14.

*Thousand and One Nights*, 7 f., 25.

Tidal, 62 f.

Timghabhadra, river, 7.

Todeni, Robert de, 3.

Tree-worship, 43 f.

Tudkhalia, 63.

Turkish artillery, 9 ff.; fleet, 9; poetry, 24 ff.; rule in Palestine, 35.

Tyropcean Valley, excavations in, 24.

Ugarit, 44 n.

Upanishads, 1 f.

Urban, director of Turkish artillery, 10.

Varuna, 43.

Vedanta philosophy, 2.

Vedas, 2, 43.

Vijayanagar, kingdom of, 7 f.

Virolleaud, Charles, on Ras Shamra discoveries, 44 f.

Vishnu, 44.

Warad Sin, 62 f.

Weights, Ashanti, 45 f.; Mohenjo-daro, 69.

Weir Memorial Fund, 9.

Weir Memorial Prize, v, 9, 21, 70.

Yānus Imre, 27.

Zagan Pāshā, 13.

Z.A.T.W. (1926-28), 9.

Ziyā Pasha, 28 f.

Zoroaster, 1.

## INDEX OF BIBLICAL PASSAGES CITED

	Page		Page
Gen. i. 2. - - - -	8	Prov. xxx. 17. - - - -	22
„ xiv. 4 f. - - - -	62	Isai. i. 11. - - - -	63
„ xiv. 6. - - - -	63	„ ii. 3. - - - -	19
„ xiv. 7. - - - -	63	„ iii. 6. - - - -	18
„ xx. 5. - - - -	21	„ iii. 15. - - - -	19
Exod. xxvii. 11. - - - -	64	„ iv. 1. - - - -	20
Lev. xxv. 29. - - - -	64	„ x. 8. - - - -	19
Dent. viii. 8. - - - -	63	„ x. 27b-32. - - - -	21
„ xxxii. 11. - - - -	8	„ xii. 4. - - - -	20
1 Sam. xxviii. 7. - - - -	64	„ xiii. 9 ff. - - - -	18f.
2 Sam. xxii. 47. - - - -	64	„ xiv. 8. - - - -	18
2 Chr. xx. 2. - - - -	63	„ xiv. 16. - - - -	18
Job xxii. 20. - - - -	18	„ xvi. 2-4. - - - -	19
Psalms lii. 8 f. - - - -	18	„ xviii. 2. 3. - - - -	19
„ lxxvii. 15. - - - -	63	„ xix. 2-6. - - - -	20
Prov. iv. 22. - - - -	22	„ xxi. 1-10. - - - -	20f.
„ vi. 17. - - - -	22	„ xxi. 9. - - - -	20
„ x. 11, 31. - - - -	22	„ xxii. 15-23. - - - -	20
„ xi. 17. - - - -	22	„ xxiii. 11, 12. - - - -	20
„ xv. 31. - - - -	22	„ xxviii. 1. - - - -	64
„ xvi. 24. - - - -	22	„ xxviii. 16. - - - -	64
„ xviii. 8. - - - -	22	„ xxx. 1-8. - - - -	29, 68 f.
„ xviii. 15. - - - -	22	Jer. vii. 34. - - - -	63
„ xx. 12. - - - -	22	„ xxv. 10. - - - -	23, 68
„ xx. 27. - - - -	22	Ezek. xxviii. 3. - - - -	45
„ xxii. 9. - - - -	22	Zech. vii. 1-6. - - - -	68
„ xxiii. 6. - - - -	22	„ viii. 16-19. - - - -	23, 68
„ xxiii. 15, 16. - - - -	22	Matt. xxvi. 73. - - - -	34
„ xxv. 12. - - - -	22	James iv. 5. - - - -	8
„ xxviii. 22. - - - -	22		

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4











